# THE TOMB OF THE VIZIER RAMOSE

N. DE GARIS DAVIES



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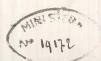
## THE TOMB OF THE VIZIER RAMOSE

N. DE GARIS DAVIES

BASED ON PRELIMINARY WORK BY THE LATE T. E. PEET AND ILLUSTRATED WITH THE HELP OF H. BURTON, NINA M. DAVIES W. B. EMERY, AND G. S. MILEHAM



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### PREFACE

F the task of finally producing this volume has devolved upon me owing to a series of untoward events, fate has not been altogether unreasonable, since I had watched the Igradual emergence of the tomb from its suppressing sands in the days of Weigall and had made a special study of it then. Living for more than thirty years in the little house which Robert Mond built for himself in the necropolis, I have been a witness and abettor of his unceasing efforts to extract the secrets of the tombs and to safeguard for others those which he himself could not hope to explore. During long years of absence he worked through the agency of others, notably Dr. E. J. Mackay, in a large but unsensational way, bringing order out of dust and ruin. It was therefore an intense gratification to him, when at last he could in person direct operations, to find the ideal task ready for him in the tomb of Ramosé—large and costly, but intensely rewarding, since it was rich in buried beauty, every line of which made a deep appeal to him. Robert Mond was wont to conceal his thought and feeling in matter-of-fact speech, but if anyone doubts the pleasure he found in disinterring this noble monument, we have his own declaration: 'Only those who have seen the delicacy of the bas-reliefs ... can realize the satisfaction I have derived from this task, a satisfaction which surpasses any which can be obtained by the personal possession of some of the world's masterpieces.'

With exemplary devotion Sir Robert added to his clearance and restoration of the tomb provision for its publication. Mr. W. B. Emery worked at this assiduously, controlled by Professor T. E. Peet of Liverpool University, under the formal auspices of which body the excavations had been made. Peet had written a provisional text for Emery's drawings of the reliefs when untimely death carried him off in 1934. In 1935 Emery, who had received a Government appointment, found that the completion of the publication was more than his leisure could compass. Faced by this threat to his project, Sir Robert appealed to me and, supported by the promised aid of my wife, I shouldered

the responsibility.

Owing to Emery's inexperience in book-production at that time, his drawings were judged by me to fall short, by a very small margin and yet fatally, of suitability for the reduction required; so, with great regret at the abandonment of work on which so much labour and good draughtsmanship had been expended, most of the work was re-done from enlarged photographs. The excellent plans of Emery, however, could be utilized, and his full-size tracings have formed the basis for Plates II—IV, XXIX, XXX, XXXII, XXXIII, XLI. I have to acknowledge with great appreciation the spirit in which he acquiesced in this disappointing decision. I feel sure also that my friend Peet would with ready magnanimity have permitted me to exempt from more direct use his written treatment of the subject. Of his superior scholarship I am well aware, but his text was not yet in the state in which,

### PREFACE

in justice to him and to the subject, it could be used as it stood, and I found that verbal incorporation with my own ideas would prove as unsatisfactory as difficult. He had spent time and trouble on the spot in studying detail and recovering the original text, but the whole of the material for a final judgement was not yet at his disposal. My acknowledgement of his help can therefore only on occasion be definite. One is taken and the other left, and that other can but humbly acquiesce in fate and do his best.

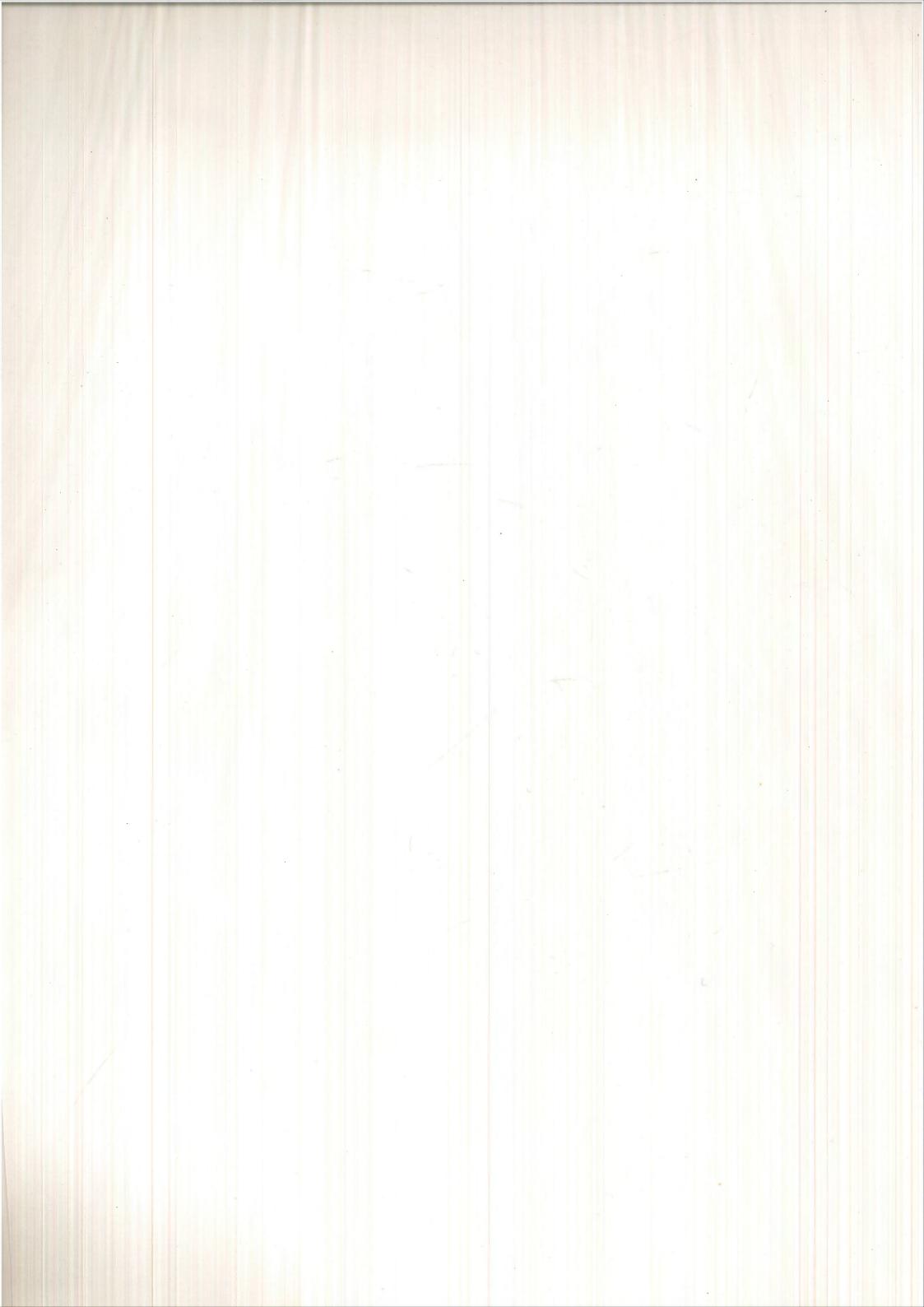
A final blow fell when Sir Robert himself passed away without seeing his labours crowned by the printed publication which he had furthered with the persistent generosity habitual to him. It is a solace to think that he must have been assured that its appearance was certain, both because of the great measure of completion it had reached and his knowledge that Lady Mond would take his place and see that there was no failure at the last. If, as he himself wrote, in speaking of this tomb, to produce a great work of art is in some measure to conquer mortality, those who provide for and distribute a reproduction

of it are not without a modest share in that triumph.

I have to acknowledge ready and large help on every hand: to my wife for contributing colour-work (the frontispiece and Plates XLIV, XIV), for tracing the south wall and preparing Plates XXIII—XXVII, and for multifarious assistance whenever it was called for; to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for permission to use the excellent photographs which fill Plates XLVI—LV; to Mr. H. Burton, who was responsible for these negatives and took special trouble in addition; to Dr. H. Nelson of the Chicago Oriental Institute, Luxor, for invaluable help in photographic enlargements; to the Service des Antiquités for its beneficent attitude in general and to its Director M. Drioton for ready help in one notable difficulty; to Dr. Alan Gardiner and Mr. P. Smither for reading through the MSS. and for valuable suggestions; to Mr. G. S. Mileham for giving expert aid in inking in Plates XVI, XVII, XIX, XX. I wish also to accord exceptional thanks to the Chiswick Press for very skilful introduction of minute corrections on the stones, thus adding a welcome enhancement of the value of the plates. Last and most I am indebted to Lady Mond for her prompt and unmeasured support when all was at stake.

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N. B. Plates XLVI-LV, 2 reproduce photographs taken by H. BURTON for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

### CHAPTER I

### THE HISTORY AND FORM OF THE TOMB'

### I. THE OWNER

Por all that matters Ramosé is only known to us from this Theban tomb when he was already vizier. At that time, and still in the reign of Amenophis III, he inscribed his name, or had it inscribed, on the rocks of Sehel and Bigeh in the region of the first cataract, the southern limit of his jurisdiction. He there pays reverence to the cartouches of the king and to the gods of the locality. He is not mentioned at all at El Amarna, so that there is no actual proof that he migrated there with Akhenaten. But if he had deserted the cause when put to the test, his name would certainly have been erased on the walls of his tomb.

His predecessor in the vizierate, Amenhotpé, was in office at least till the 31st, and perhaps till the 35th, year of Amenophis III. Hence Ramosé can only just have become vizier when he began his tomb in the last year or years of the reign, a date at which Amenophis IV was perhaps associated with his father as co-regent. The name and date of his successor is less certain.<sup>2</sup> We find one Nakht vizier at El Amarna, living in an exceptionally large mansion there, but have no evidence as to when he began and ended his term of office. If then Ramosé exercised his functions in the new capital, it cannot have been for long. None of the relations or servants of Ramosé can be identified with persons who were resident at El Amarna, so that it is possible that he continued to hold his post at Thebes, where, one would think, a strong body of officials would be needed for some time at least.

Ramosé, son of Neby, apparently had no children. His wife, Meryetptaḥ, has a name that suggests a Memphite origin.<sup>3</sup> She is entitled 'Ornament of the king', whatever that distinction may imply. On Plate XII a second Meryetptaḥ is seen just behind the wife of Ramosé, seated between her father and mother and, since no other reason appears why she should be shown in this company of her elders, we may conclude that this Meryetptaḥ, daughter of Amenhotpé and of Maÿ, is the same as she who sits in front of her as the wife of Ramosé and who is, like her, a chantress of Amūn. In short, her parents are there as

I For all references to previous work in the tomb the reader is referred to Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography, I (1927), p. 86. An appendix will bring that work up to date. Hence I shall only call attention now and again to contributions of special interest. Most of the illustrated guides to Egyptian Art which have been poured forth of late show several scenes from the tomb, mostly of the south side of the east wall (Pls. VII–XII), the ambassadors (Pl. XXXVII), and the mourning women (Pl. XXV). None fill omissions in the present volume conspicuously well.

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that much weight need be given to the claims of Nakhtpaaten to the vizierate. If he were indeed vizier, he is likely to have been so early in the reign and perhaps from the foundation of Akhetaten. But his tomb is a poor one, his name was put on it only in ink, and the word 'vizier' only read by Daressy. Even if this first legible sign in a column of faded text was correctly read, it may have been merely part of a title of a high official in the household of a vizier; for the office of 'seal-bearer' also assigned to him is not held by any vizier, though it is by one of his retinue (Weill, Die Veziere, p. 177).

<sup>3</sup> She may possibly be the owner of the funerary cone No. 200 (in Daressy's list).

### THE HISTORY AND FORM OF THE TOMB

his parents-in-law; for this pair occur again in the same scene, facing Ramosé, presumably

in some other capacity.

Who, then, is this Amenhotpé (Amenhotpé B)? He is labelled 'his brother' in Plates 1x, XII where another Amenhotpé (Amenhotpé A) and Ramosé precede him. The titles assigned to him there enable us to recognize him as a man exceptionally well known from other monuments and perhaps the most important official in Memphis. As a man of the same period, with a series of exactly the same titles, and a wife of the same name, there can be no doubt of the identity; yet, in his Memphite tomb, he mentions as his father one Heby, a man of no official rank, and not Neby, who held fairly high posts in the Delta. He cannot then be real brother to Ramosé.2 One solution of the puzzle is to make this brotherhood possible by supposing that Amenhotpé B, in order to justify his boast that he was a self-made man, passed over his father, Heby being in fact his grandfather.3 A bolder way out of the difficulty, and one that permits a neater family history, is to take sn, 'brother', as a loose term for 'cousin' (father's brother's son). This permits him to have the same relation to both the men whom he neighbours, Ramosé and Amenhotpé A. This expedient is adopted here, but without insistence; the issues are not of vital importance.4

Amenhotpé A who precedes his namesake on Plate IX presents another problem. When we consider his final title 'overseer of recruits', his facial appearance, the high rank the few surviving titles betray, and the prominence given to him, there is good ground for belief that we have here that romantic figure, Amenhotpé, son of Hapu,5 designated, even in Ptolemaic times, 'scribe of recruits'. If so, he is almost certainly figured here, not merely as the most esteemed man in Thebes, but as a member of the family. There is a lacuna of one group of signs before the first title [rpcti hsti]-c. 'His brother' would fill this but not fit facts, and it is no doubt safest to conclude that the relationship was too distant

for an Egyptian to define and that the column began with 53b or n ka n.6

<sup>1</sup> See Hayes, J.E.A. 1938, pp. 9-24.

<sup>3</sup> Rekhmirêr calls himself on one occasion son of Aḥmosé (his grandfather), and Menkheperrasonb says he was born

of Nebta (his grandmother).

4 The custom of using one term for persons of the same generation, though of different parentage, is common with Hamitic peoples (Seligman, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Soudan, pp. 28, 29, etc.). A third solution would be to take 'his brother' as indicating a brother of Neby, who has most importance in both pictures, though not to the eye. But

this is very strained and it would make Ipy, the son of Amenhotpé B, rather older than is likely. 5 Amenhotpé, son of Hapu, was a native of Athribis in the southern Delta. He appears to have died, at a high age, before the 34th year of Amenophis III, probably therefore a short time before the date of these reliefs. The two surviving epithets given to him here are assumed also by Ramosé, as if he had fallen heir to them, although that of 'administrator of both Egypts' is not adopted by any other vizier. The long hair given to this one figure in the tomb is not seen before the next reign (cf. Pl. xxxII), except in the case of this Amenhotpé, of whom it is a characteristic mark even in after times (Robichon and Varille, Le Temple d'Amenhotep fils de Hapou, 1, Pls. xxxiv, xxxv, and p. 9). He is given a short beard, like Neby (and sometimes Ramosé himself).

6 'Her brother' or 'her father' would also be possibilities. But a connexion with the house of Hapu through the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Something must be strained to meet the case. The choice between three expedients is offered below. It may be noted here that the choice only affects the relations of Amenhotpé B to Ramosé (brother, uncle, or cousin), and consequently whether Ramosé married his niece, his cousin, or a first cousin once removed. Amenhotpé A may remain a first cousin, necessarily under the expedient I have adopted, but in the other two cases he could be a second cousin if other evidence required that he should belong to an older generation altogether.

### THE OWNER

If, however, the term sn·f can be interpreted as 'his cousin', it may have stood here also, or at any rate have been applicable, and the following family history would then result. An unknown ancestor in North Egypt had three sons, the elder two, Heby and Hapu, so humble that they can only be designated 'Esq.', and a third, Neby, holding a position of some importance in the Delta. But the sons of these three proved remarkable men. Hapu married one Atu and had a son Amenhotpé who became the privileged favourite of Amenophis III and was later deified. Heby, by his wife Tuṭuya, had a son Amenhotpé who is prominent in our tomb and held the highest rank in Memphis. By his wife Apuya Neby had a son Ramosé who became vizier of Egypt and married Meryetptaḥ, daughter of Amenhotpé of Memphis and of Maÿ, a Theban chantress of Amūn. The family seems to have reached this extraordinary pitch of success, not merely by ability, but also by its diplomacy in marrying its sons and daughters into Theban families and so gaining a footing in both halves of the realm.

It appears from the titles and the biography of Amenhotpé of Memphis, cousin (brother?) of Ramosé, that he enjoyed the intimate favour of the king, enormous wealth, and unbounded influence through offices priestly, administrative, and at court. With another brother vizier at Thebes, and aided, perhaps, by close connexion with the king's favourite, the son of Hapu, the family must have been all-powerful for some years and, even if both Amenhotpés died at much the same time as their sovereign, the son Ipy succeeded to most of his father's offices at Memphis. Yet it is doubtful if the family kept its position far into the reign of Akhenaten. At all events it seems that Ramosé was elderly at the time of the accession, and the new king was likely to prefer men whose youth precluded any very deep roots in the past. The strain of the times might easily bring about the death or disablement of Ramosé; it is probable, then, that with, or soon after, the removal of the seat of the vizier to Akhetaten, Nakht took his place.

### 2. ITS INCEPTION AND ABANDONMENT

This is not the place to estimate the origins or the value of the religious and artistic upheaval under Akhenaten. The character of the man, and in some degree the movement also, have had unpleasant light thrown on them in recent years, but the disillusion should not impair our judgement of the astounding character of the episode and the initial force which it displayed. It did not, and could not, make an essential change in the national history. Monotheistic tendencies in Egyptian religion were strong, but less strong than its primitive impulses; Egyptian art, though ready to throw out natural growths of exuberant

marriages of Neby, Amenhotpé B, or Ramosé would be pure hypothesis, and it seems likely that these family groups on both sides of the entrance are devoted, in the upper row, to Ramosé's relations (Pls. IX, X, XVI), and, in the lower, to those of Meryetptah (Pls. XI, XII, XIX).

Amenhotpé of Memphis, speaking of his death (prematurely or through his son), does not mention the name of Amenophis IV. Nor does his son Ipy: a wise silence, for he had Haremhab for a neighbour.

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### ITS INCEPTION AND ABANDONMENT

in every tomb and temple of Thebes could scarcely have been carried out before the exodus from the capital.

### 3. ITS USURPATION

On the restoration of the cult of Amun at Thebes effacements of the insults offered to the god were undertaken in this tomb, as elsewhere. The erased signs were recut roughly in deep-set relief and faced up with liquid plaster in the clumsiest possible way. On the other hand, the name and figure of Akhenaten and his queen were chipped out as of those who had forfeited their place in the divine succession. The cartouches of Aten were similarly treated as if these had been a misrepresentation of the god; for no enmity was shown to him otherwise. Ramosé was not made an object of hatred; it may be that he was saved from this by his family connexions, or because his death intervened before he was notoriously involved in the humiliation of Thebes. This procedure shows that the tomb was still intact and accessible, but the excellent preservation of its reliefs is probably due to an early collapse of the rock roof. When the tomb was cleared in 1904 it was found to contain two solid brick walls, still quite high, which connected the outer and inner doorways and rested on the floor of the tomb or on a very thin layer of rubbish. These walls must date from a period when the hall was largely in ruin, and served to keep back the accumulations of debris. Neatly plastered on the inside, they formed a broad approach to the inner chamber, which in this way was converted into an excellent tomb-chapel at very small cost. The intruder seems to have cut clean away the six clustered (?) columns of the nave, but left the two high stumps in front of the second doorway. He may have carried these two up in mud and, with the help of the two extant ends of the architrave, formed a portico to what was in effect the real entrance to his tomb. The man who thus exploited the empty chambers is not named or dated, but was probably of a much later period. Happily he did not injure the scenes or texts of his predecessor, though he covered up the outer thicknesses at least with a coat of fine cream-coloured plaster, parts of which still remain.2 The thick wall which crosses the courtyard, and which is formed of bricks of the same size as those of the internal wall, was probably his work. The entrance through this wall had plastered jambs, and rough slabs of limestone were laid down as a threshold. Perhaps the two rough sandstone bases and stumps of columns outside the entrance to the tomb are his work, just possibly taking the place of original ones (p. 35). Three intrusive tombs have been cut in the rock walls of the court on that level; two on the north are uninscribed, but that on the south is partly decorated and of Ramesside date.3

The texts on and near the ceiling show Atenist erasures but, I think, no restorations, so that there is no proof that the roof was intact, but it does not follow that it had fallen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Perhaps not completely, since the hieroglyphs show no trace of it. Very fine lines down the length of the baton carried by Ramosé on the north thickness (Pl. v) are still partially concealed by it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For the last (Tomb 331) see the second volume of this series. That on the north, close to the stairway, is not shown on Pl. 1, but will be found in Mond and Emery, Annals of Archaeology (Liverpool), XIV, Pl. II (E).

### THE HISTORY AND FORM OF THE TOMB

### 4. ITS REDISCOVERY AND CLEARANCE

The merit of calling attention to the tomb in modern times undoubtedly belongs to Villiers Stuart, even if some other had previously noted the promises held out by the upper part of the inner doorway, visible above immense accumulations of stones and sand. In February 1879 Stuart recognized the radiant sun of Akhenaten and made clearances which enabled him to see in places the base lines of the reliefs on the west wall." This he took to be the frontage. In 1882 he excavated still farther and laid bare a considerable part of the south wall. In 1884-5 Maspero, at Bouriant's request, authorized further excavation, revealing more of the south wall. But all this work was evidently of the hasty sort which the sliding debris quickly nullified. When I saw it at the beginning of the century the heads of the ambassadors were just visible at the bottom of a long slope of rubbish. In 1904 A. E. Weigall, inspector of the Service des Antiquités, with support from Robert Mondand the Metropolitan Museum of New York, cleared a passage round the walls of the south bay and covered it in with a temporary ambulatory. In the winter of 1924 Mond began a systematic clearance, first searching the vicinity widely in preparation for the removal of the enormous mounds inside and outside the tomb. The immediate direction of the work was in the hands of W. Emery, helped for one season by A. R. Callender. In three years of hard toil the approach, the courtyard, and the vast hypostyle hall were freed, the front wall built up, and a central group of twelve columns, imitating in essential outlines and proportions the original ones, were erected on the bases and stumps of the old, the roomy burial-chambers lying below the halls were emptied, and the fragments found during excavation were carefully gone over and, where possible, replaced in the restored walls. In 1927-8 the Service des Antiquités commissioned its expert engineer, Emile Baraize, to construct a flat roof of girders and brick with plentiful glass lights on the restored walls and columns. The result, given the conditions, could not be bettered and, though the original gloom of the hall has been replaced by light abundant enough to allow the fine reliefs to be studied in detail, few will regret the anachronism. M. Baraize added a thirteenth column in solid sandstone to avert falls of overhanging rock. The work had demanded a campaign of several years and many thousand pounds, but, as a result, one of the finest monuments of Thebes has been made easy of access and perusal to countless thousands who otherwise would have had the most imperfect idea of the splendid memorials of the golden age of Egypt.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nile Gleanings, p. 299. Stuart's work was a strange mixture of intelligent and foolish observation, and his reproductions often contain deliberate falsification, only redeemed by naïve confessions of some at least of his bewildering pranks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a full account of the course of the excavations, numerous photographs of the stages of the work, and records of the scanty objects found in the debris, see Mond and Emery, *Annals of Archaeology (Liverpool)*, XIV (1927), pp. 13 ff., and Yeivin, ibid. XIII, pp. 3 ff.

### 5. ITS ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

A glance at Plates I and II will at once reveal the size and main features of this ambitious speos. Planned at the very end of the reign of Amenophis III, it is likely to be somewhat later than that of Surer (No. 48), which surpasses it in size and perhaps equalled it in the merit of its reliefs. In size and in the large employment of columns both deviate in a striking way from the model customary till then. No development of religious thought at the time seems able to account for these columned halls, one beyond the other, the walls of which had to be left blank for lack of matter. They must be derived from the new luxury of house accommodation.2 Ramosé never seems to have asked himself what story these 500 square yards of mural space were to relate, and in the end, ignoring the high example of previous viziers, he could only fill one wall completely, and that by dint of large figures and much repetition. The tomb contains the commonplace; but this is presented with a spaciousness and high refinement which mark the close of a great era. The tombs of Surer and, still more, of Khaemhêt bore better witness to its mental vigour, just as the temple of Luxor may have to be set against dull walls to which the colossi of Thebes were the magnificent gateway and the empty megalomania of Amenhotpé, son of Hapu. This silence might be that of thinkers who could not yet speak out, but this tomb of a vizier betrays no sense of his position as a trustee for public justice and administrative efficiency, and appears to be concerned only with his social position.

The quarriers, commissioned to excavate a high hall of large dimensions, had to go deep down to reach a layer of fine limestone, but as usual succumbed to the temptation to stop short of the depth which would have secured a sound roof. The rock columns, weakened by blows of the heavy mauls, would develop cracks along the slanting faults, the exposed layers would perish in the heat, and I do not doubt that, despite the thickness wisely given to the outer wall, parts of the roof gave way before long. There was a time under the Ramessides when the hollowed-out chambers in the vicinity were of such extent that the lower bed of rock slid southwards an inch or more in relation to the upper,

and this deep movement can hardly have failed to weaken everything.3

The tomb as laid out included a large forecourt, the irregular shape of which bears witness to respect for some unpretentious tombs on a high level in front of it. These it skirts closely, but Ramosé was forced to move his approach some distance north of the axis, where he found space to hew out an imposing descent of twenty-five steps, broken in the centre by a continuous ramp for the lowering of a sarcophagus. The façade is preserved on both sides of the entrance, though not at it, and was evidently plain with a doorframing standing out an inch or so from the general surface. The mode of terminating the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Davies, Bulletin, M.M.A., Nov. 1915, pp. 230 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As in the palace of Malkata. The palm-column, so frequent in domestic architecture, is not used in tombs because only supports of the simplest outline could be hewn out in rock.

<sup>3</sup> This side-slip is visible in the south-east corner and again in the burial chamber below. The same earth movement can be traced in Tomb 31, some distance to the north.

### THE HISTORY AND FORM OF THE TOMB

frontage at the top is lost; presumably it ended in a horizontal line, but there may have been a decorative line of pottery cones, or even three such, as shown in the pictures of the tomb within (Plate xxIII).<sup>1</sup>

The entrance-way had been provided with a single-leaf door, falling back against its north wall, the scene there being narrowed and the text changed to incised work in anticipation of the shade it would cast. A wooden block for receiving the door-bolt had been let into the south wall, a raised panel being reserved for it in the layout of the text. The floor-level of the outer hall is considerably lower than the entrance; four steps, rather rudely cut in the rock, lead down to it.

The great hall, nearly 28 yards long, contained thirty-two somewhat squat papyrus columns.2 Marks on their bases or extant stumps, a metre or two high in some cases, show that in general they had plain shafts. The plan and sections prepared by Emery (Plates I, II) represent the columns as they have been restored by him in the tomb. This arrangement places on each side of the nave (that is, the east-west axial gangway between the columns) six papyrus columns, each having eight clustered stems and a rough indication of the decoration usual in this type, notwithstanding that the two westernmost columns of these rows are extant and plain, like the other twenty-four.3 The exceptional treatment of these six columns was based on a large number of fragments which showed clustered stems and that decoration above and below the neck which is generally associated with such columns. But Emery's earlier plans are in conflict with this, showing the extant stumps, circular in section, of all the columns on the north side of the nave. This would mean that they had plain, not clustered, shafts. Those on the south side had apparently been completely removed. It seems, then, that the extant remains gave no authority for clustered stems and even appear, in five out of eight cases, to have been definitely against their existence. As to the fragments of clustered stems and of the decoration proper to this type, the many measurements I took of them do not in any case seem to exceed the dimensions of the smaller columns with clustered shafts in the inner hall.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Less than ten of the cones of Ramosé survive, none, I believe, having been found during the clearance of the tomb. This is strange, since more than a hundred of them would be needed for one row of a string-course; yet there is additional proof of such a use of them in that they occur in two series, facing opposite ways, as if the row had started from a centre in both directions. The usurper of the tomb, then, must have had them all removed. For the text on them see Daressy, Cônes funéraires, No. 31. It is noteworthy that they bear that reference to the sun, 'Thou adorest the sun at early dawn . . .', which had convinced me, before they were found in situ by Winlock, that such cones came from the façade.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The provision of round, as against 16- or 32-sided, columns in a tomb is interesting, as their only occurrence in the necropolis is confined to very rough examples in Tombs 67, 73 (under Hatshepsut), and to columns of the clustered-stems type (now destroyed) in the contemporary tomb, No. 48. The fully decorated papyrus column, shown in buildings of Tuthmosis III at Luxor and Karnak, is here used in a tomb (if Emery is right), as, a little later, at El Amarna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In order to keep the view of the mural reliefs free, the columns adjacent to all four walls have not been re-erected.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In Annals of Archaeology, XIII, Pls. III, IV; XIV, Pl. II. The first of these, however, seems to regard all six columns as providing no data, while the last restores (?) all thirty-two with circular sections. But I learn briefly, while going to press, that Emery still has confidence in his restoration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> My estimate of the diameter of a column, based on a fragment of stems at their largest breadth, was 39 inches. This seems to correspond to that of the inner columns.

### ITS ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

I am inclined to think therefore, and shall proceed on the assumption, that the restoration has been mistaken in this respect and that all the columns in the great hall had plain shafts from the neck downwards and that there is no clear evidence that those of the nave differed in any way from the rest (for the abaci, see p. 39), since all decorative detail below the necks may come from the columns of the inner hall. It may seem strange that the undecorated inner hall should show fully developed columns, while in the fine decorated hall, where the capitals in the nave were certainly clustered and many abaci inscribed and even coloured, the shafts should be quite plain.¹ The explanation may be that, after the quarriers, working from the ceiling down, had formed the capitals, it was considered inadvisable further to weaken columns which had to bear so immense a weight of roof. On the other hand, the smaller dimensions and more solid rock of the inner room made its roof self-supporting. The restorers have probably been right in supplying eight-stemmed capitals to all the columns in the outer hall. Indeed these capitals may well have been fully decorated and the five bands below the neck added. It is not likely that the decoration went further.

The fragments show so many small variations in size of detail that it would be difficult to recover an exact model from them, but they suffice to show that the columns of the inner room followed very closely the form used in the tomb of Ay at El Amarna, but omitting the unusual division there of each of the eight stems into four, and replacing the full decoration of the tablet by a simpler one. There were five bands on the neck, securing three short stems in the rill between the main stems, the short stems being themselves bound together by a fivefold cord. Six pieces show a text in at least two vertical lines on a rounded surface, giving the name and titles of Ramosé and perhaps also a pious wish. They will come from a tablet placed half-way down the shaft, this perhaps being provided only on the two columns (of the inner hall?) near the door. The texts face both ways.

The space between the columns of the outer hall is twice as great in the nave as elsewhere. Two architraves ran from the front wall to the back; from these eight lateral ones extended to the north and south walls, but only a few inches of any of them were preserved at their junction with the walls. The same arrangement holds for the inner hall, but there only the easternmost cross-architrave has been supplied; the absence of the others would not be noticed in the gloom. The eight clustered columns there are of smaller dimensions than those in the outer hall. All have been destroyed from the beam down, but the two eastern ones are still some 3 feet high.<sup>2</sup> There has been no restoration in this hall. The floor of the inner hall and of the shrine continues at the same level as before, but there is

Note that in Tomb 48 (a few years earlier?) the columns of the inner room have clustered shafts; those of the outer room are 32-sided, solid, that is, and of simple outline. The unfinished tombs of Ay and Tutu at El Amarna, in which only the columns of the nave have been provided with clustered shafts, gave the restorers of our tomb an encouraging but delusive parallel, even including the mingling of plain and clustered columns in the same row. I note with regret that my plan in El Amarna vi, Pl. XI, is in error in giving a plain section to the clustered column shown on Pl. XIV there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Traces of the abaci remain on the beam. The columns look as if they had been deliberately removed by the usurper. If so, the retention of the two stumps and all the bases is curious. It suggests that he allowed two or three feet of debris to remain on the floor of the tomb, doing away with any drop from the entrance.

### THE HISTORY AND FORM OF THE TOMB

a slight rise and fall again in the entrances. The walls and ceiling are carefully cut and smoothed, but are devoid of any decoration or any preparation for it, as with the north wall of the outer hall.

### 6. ITS DECORATION

A sufficiently good layer of stone having been reached by the quarriers, there was no question but that the decoration would be in relief throughout and not in flat paint, even incised texts being confined to the façade, the ceiling, behind the doors, and where the scale adopted was too small to make relief advisable (subsidiary texts on lintels and elsewhere). The almost complete absence of colour from the reliefs as we have them should not lead us to suppose that they were not intended to be painted in accordance with the usual practice. The proof we have from fragments that the ceiling patterns and texts, the architraves and abaci, and the outer lintel, had received colour shows that only the ill chance that prevented the completion of the tomb saved the fine modelling of the figures from being lost beneath a coat of vivid paint that, in the very dim light of the interior, would have killed it effectively.

It seems clear that the Egyptian artist, in dealing with sepulchral art, was bound by the idea that relief plus colour came nearest to the reality that was sought, and had no freedom to suit his work to conditions of lighting. The ghosts of the dead, not the living, were his real patrons. In our tomb the events which intervened and hurried on the addition of the essential subject of burial explain the uneven state of the decoration. The scene of burial was begun in the hope that it might still be executed in relief, but, after a quarter of its length had been sculptured, the rest had to be put in in flat colour, though with no detrimental haste, and the initial reliefs also were then painted to bring them into line with the rest. The khekers above the scene, both here and over the reliefs on the south side of the

west wall (Plate LII), had to be left in their original red sketching.

The workmen had no doubt adopted the usual practice of beginning the excavation of the tomb by providing the axial gangway for its whole length and height, and even of finishing its decoration, while the quarriers and masons proceeded with the next stage of giving the hall its planned breadth by working from the entrance to right and left. In this tomb, since the shaping of the many columns would be a lengthy process, the sculptors were able to finish the reliefs from end to end of the entrance wall before even the part of the back wall nearest to the axis was ready for the draughtsman. The enthronement scene there shows signs of hurried work as if the times were already threatening, and as soon as the end wall on this side was available, work on the burial scene there was commenced. After the first turmoil following the accession was over, most of the design in the new style could be sketched on the opposite side of the back wall and the window

It is instructive to note that in this stretch of coloured relief it is very difficult to discover where the relief ends and the flat paint begins. The tomb of Ay at El Amarna, which is only so much later than the last work in our tomb as to allow time for the birth of three princesses, shows similar incompleteness, reliefs devoid of paint, and incipient colouring in the aisle. The usual professional procedure was being followed in both cases.

### ITS DECORATION

scene cut in relief. Had Akhenaten's first-born been in existence or more than an infant at this time, one would have expected that she would have been shown with her parents: this work, then, must date from the beginning of the reign and the whole undertaking have covered a period of not more than about five years.<sup>1</sup>

The inmost room, with a ceiling lowered still farther, was intended to provide a place for three separate groups of rock-hewn statues in niches cut in the three walls, but the work was abandoned before anything definite had been attempted. The preparatory work of the quarriers was very rough but the sculptors had not begun theirs, so that the finished figures, set deeply back in their niches, might have proved a quite worthy addition.

### 7. ITS BURIAL PLACES

Unlike the great majority of the sunk burial-places in the necropolis, that provided by Ramosé is regular in layout and excellently hewn.<sup>2</sup> The descent to it is not by a perpendicular shaft but by a slope leading out of the south-west corner of the outer hall.<sup>3</sup> The initial direction is that of the axis and so steep at the outset that one can only just keep one's footing on it. Presently it turns sharply to the right and, as the slope is still more abrupt, it has been provided with a stairway divided into two by a narrow ramp, as with the approach to the tomb itself. This continues, with the interruption of a landing at a right-angled turn, to near the bottom of the long and sinuous passage. When one reaches the level, more than 51 feet below the floor of the tomb, one is faced by a door leading to a hall with its axis running directly east and west. It is a square room, the ceiling of which is supported on four pillars, walls and pillars alike being accurately alined and smoothly dressed to plane surfaces wherever the work has been brought to completion. The ceiling is cambered in the nave, flat in the side aisles.

The end wall is pierced for three doors, each having a projecting framing with a roll and a cornice above it. The central one leads to farther rooms, and the left-hand one to a small chamber, the back wall of which has a well-shaped doorway, framed by a torus and cornice. But where the passage or a sunk stela should lie there is only a projecting boss of rock. The right-hand doorway, also furnished with a roll and cornice above the lintel, is incomplete, the inside being sunk only some 3 inches. Rooms were also projected close to these two doors in the side walls of the hall, again with corniced doorways. That on the left was only roughed out. That on the right (south) led into a small chamber, the walls of which are very rough, except in the upper part near the entrance. Low down in its side walls are two of the little niches often hewn in burial chambers to contain ritual bricks or figurines. They seem as if they may once have been used and sealed with a slab.

But Prisse (Monuments, Pl. xI, 3) shows a scene of offering in the temple of Gematen (?) in which two princesses are seen. As the names of the king, the queen, and the Aten are in their early forms, the scene is previous to the sixth year and probably to the fourth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Since the exceptionally good vaults of Tombs 82 and 96 are inscribed, it may be that Ramosé, too, had this in view.
<sup>3</sup> Often so at El Amarna and in some later tombs at Thebes and, with a difference, in Tomb 93.

### THE HISTORY AND FORM OF THE TOMB

There is also a deepish loculus in the north-west corner of the hall: this is rough and may be a later provision, for a cradle-shaped pottery coffin of late type still lies in the hall.

The eastern doorway in the axis was provided with a cornice so large that it was easier to sink a slot and insert shaped stones than to hew it out of the rock. A small room within has an arched ceiling and a door beyond was to have led into an inmost room. But the arched doorway to this, as well as the room within, is only opened for half its height, and the rough stone which had served for a hammer still lay among the chips, its four faces stained green by the heads of the heavy copper chisels. Thus when the work stopped, the provision of burial accommodation, the chiselling of rock statues in the shrine above, and the decoration of the great hall were all being proceeded with at the same time.

Of the fifteen small burial pits on the upper level, the two in front of the second door might be contemporary, serving to house relatives who died during the construction.<sup>2</sup> Others in the hall and in the courtyard are likely to be intrusive, since one lies beneath a destroyed column-base.

For the ceilings see pp. 39, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As the burial chambers when opened were found full of the debris of the quarrymen, it is evident that they had never been cleared for use.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the hope that the two pits might be of the period and that valuable evidence might have been preserved below the mass of debris, I obtained permission to empty them many years ago but found the chambers small and rough and completely plundered. No doubt all the pits were searched long ago by plunderers; indeed, Villiers Stuart had a severe fall down an empty one in 1879.

### CHAPTER II

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

EAST WALL: CENTRE

PLATES VI, VII; XIII-XV; XLVI; XLVII, 21

The usual scenes of sacrifice to the solar deities and, in second line, to gods of burial are placed on both sides of the entrance, according to custom. On the north side Ramosé makes the offering, accompanied by his wife and the servants of his household: on the south side she is absent and, in her place, certain officials are given increased importance both in stature and quality of execution, and here it is the utterance of the words accompanying the offering which is indicated by the attitude of Ramosé. The offerings are arranged in the same way, except that on Plate XIV the tip of a cone of fat shows that an assistant is bringing this adjunct to the offering (cf. Plate XIII, I).

South side. The text over and behind Ramosé is:

'The making of an oblation (smsc) of all things good and pure [to] Amen-Rêc, king of the gods, [to] Rêc-Harakhti, [to] Atum, to Khepera, to his [eye], to his hand, to his body, to the evening boat, to the morning boat, to the gods of the south, [to the] gods [of the north], to the [gods of the west, to the] gods [of the east], to all gods [and goddesses, for the benefit of] the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of The Two Lands... [by R. He says "I give praise to Rêc-Harakhti] when he dawns, that he may cause me to be among his followers and that my soul may rest in the evening boat day by day"."

The household staff is represented by six large figures in two rows. A superscription was planned for each row, and the name of each official in a vertical column before him. Little is left of the upper row. The heading of the second runs: 'Bringing all manner of good and pure food for thy ka, O Amen-Rêr, king of gods.' They are doubly pure on the hands of the seigneur, etc., R.' The text before the first man remains in an ink memorandum: '... Nebmeḥyet, whom the scribe Iry begat'. The unused plaques, preserving the original surface, retain the squaring lines in red ink on which the figures were built up by the draughtsman.' These three figures, though formal, have an exceptional beauty of line and modelling and evoke an emotional recognition of the loveliness of youth as expressed in perfect craftsmanship.

The sub-scene (Plates VII; XIII, 2) is devoted to a file of offering-bearers and butcher's work. The man who brings away the head of the ox says the fitting word: 'A pure offering to thy ka [O Amen-Rêr']; but those of his two comrades are lost, except for the close:

Attention is drawn (1) to the key-plans on Pl. LVI which enable the place which each plate occupies on the wall to be seen at a glance, and (2) to the photographs on Pls. XLVI-LV since they are often not cited in the text. From these plans the real size of each picture on a plate can be learnt when the scale of reduction could not be given.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

"... the great right-hand of Thebes... all the... of Thebes, Amūn, lord of the thrones of The Two Lands." An additional feature is the chant of three men, 'the choir of singers':

'Praises in heaven, chants in The Great House, jubilation within the court! The two lands of Horus acclaim Amūn on the great throne when he shines forth as Amen-Rêr, lord of heaven(?). May he prolong the years of Neb-maet-Rêr—to whom life be given! May he grant his (own?) duration of life, a participation in eternity, and his years summed up in hundreds of thousands. O mayor-vizier R.! Thy lord, Amen-Rêr, rewards thee in thy abode of the living. All the gods of the west rejoice because of thee, in that thou makest a ritual offering to Amen-Rêr-Harakhti; to Atum, lord of On; to his eye, to his hand, to his body; to Osiris-Khentamentiu; to Hat-hor, regent of the necropolis; to Anubis, lord of To-joser; and to all the gods of the underworld.'

The rest of the file of porters of offerings calls for few words, the names of the men having been omitted from the columns reserved for the purpose. One, however, has had his name written across his chest in hieratic as a reminder. The pair of quails tied by their feet to the little sheaf reminds one that it is in the standing corn that these dainty morsels are captured.<sup>2</sup>

North Side (Plates XIII-XV). Here the scene has suffered considerable losses.<sup>3</sup> Ramosé pours incense on a burnt-offering placed on a hand-brazier. Other gifts include (1) six jars of the usual salves with their names (there are four different ones on the south side); (2) a massed pile of offerings on a mat; (3) two or three standing braziers (dishes on tall stands) piled high with birds, meat, bread, and fruit. These are enveloped with flames which rise from burning charcoal or gums. Formal bouquets are set between the stands. The text over and behind Ramosé is:

'Offering all manner of things good and pure (wdn ib t nb t wcb t nfr t) and placing balsam and incense (cntiw sntr) [for Amen-Rêc...for] Anubis, chief of his hill, [for] Hat-hor, regent of the necropolis...[for the evening] boat, for the morning boat... the mountain of Manu(?)... for those who are in Dêt, that he may place the mayor-vizier R. among his followers...'.

To show how thought is centred on the sun-god (identified here with Amen-Rêr) all is summed up in a résumé: 'For thy ka. Receive the good food O [Amen-Rêr!].'4

Words are also put into the mouth of Meryetptah: '... the horizon-dwellers (?). May he (R.) be summoned (to a meal) like one of them and may his soul never be destroyed.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No one has been able to suggest a satisfactory rendering of this name. The face of the man behind has a heavy outline in black ink round the finished face and body on the sunk ground. Why?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Theban Tombs Series, v, Pl. xLv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> My predecessors had been at great pains to find the probable location of fallen fragments of text and to build them into place. It is safe to say that very few of those falling outside the piece *in situ* can have fitted on to an existing backing of rock; so that they admit of being shifted about on the plate if this seems called for. I have excluded some as obviously out of place (though they remain on the walls). Others I have retained even when not quite, or doubtfully, in place, since they almost certainly belong thereabout. This caution applies with still greater force to Pls. III–V, XLI. Fragments of figures are not numerous and none seemed important enough for a record. Very few fitted on to extant reliefs.

<sup>4</sup> On the south side 'Pure for thy ka, O Amen-Rêr'.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

"... the great right-hand of Thebes... all the... of Thebes, Amūn, lord of the thrones of The Two Lands.' An additional feature is the chant of three men, 'the choir of singers':

'Praises in heaven, chants in The Great House, jubilation within the court! The two lands of Horus acclaim Amūn on the great throne when he shines forth as Amen-Rêc, lord of heaven(?). May he prolong the years of Neb-maet-Rêc—to whom life be given! May he grant his (own?) duration of life, a participation in eternity, and his years summed up in hundreds of thousands. O mayor-vizier R.! Thy lord, Amen-Rêc, rewards thee in thy abode of the living. All the gods of the west rejoice because of thee, in that thou makest a ritual offering to Amen-Rêc-Harakhti; to Atum, lord of On; to his eye, to his hand, to his body; to Osiris-Khentamentiu; to Hat-hor, regent of the necropolis; to Anubis, lord of To-joser; and to all the gods of the underworld.'

The rest of the file of porters of offerings calls for few words, the names of the men having been omitted from the columns reserved for the purpose. One, however, has had his name written across his chest in hieratic as a reminder. The pair of quails tied by their feet to the little sheaf reminds one that it is in the standing corn that these dainty morsels are captured.

North Side (Plates XIII-XV). Here the scene has suffered considerable losses.<sup>3</sup> Ramosé pours incense on a burnt-offering placed on a hand-brazier. Other gifts include (1) six jars of the usual salves with their names (there are four different ones on the south side); (2) a massed pile of offerings on a mat; (3) two or three standing braziers (dishes on tall stands) piled high with birds, meat, bread, and fruit. These are enveloped with flames which rise from burning charcoal or gums. Formal bouquets are set between the stands. The text over and behind Ramosé is:

'Offering all manner of things good and pure (wdn ib t nb t wcb t nfr t) and placing balsam and incense (ntiw sntr) [for Amen-Rêc...for] Anubis, chief of his hill, [for] Hat-hor, regent of the necropolis...[for the evening] boat, for the morning boat... the mountain of Manu(?)... for those who are in Dêt, that he may place the mayor-vizier R. among his followers.....

To show how thought is centred on the sun-god (identified here with Amen-Rêr) all is summed up in a résumé: 'For thy ka. Receive the good food O [Amen-Rêr!].'4

Words are also put into the mouth of Meryetptah: '... the horizon-dwellers (?). May he (R.) be summoned (to a meal) like one of them and may his soul never be destroyed.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No one has been able to suggest a satisfactory rendering of this name. The face of the man behind has a heavy outline in black ink round the finished face and body on the sunk ground. Why?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Theban Tombs Series, v, Pl. XLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> My predecessors had been at great pains to find the probable location of fallen fragments of text and to build them into place. It is safe to say that very few of those falling outside the piece *in situ* can have fitted on to an existing backing of rock; so that they admit of being shifted about on the plate if this seems called for. I have excluded some as obviously out of place (though they remain on the walls). Others I have retained even when not quite, or doubtfully, in place, since they almost certainly belong thereabout. This caution applies with still greater force to Pls. III–V, XLI. Fragments of figures are not numerous and none seemed important enough for a record. Very few fitted on to extant reliefs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On the south side 'Pure for thy ka, O Amen-Rêr'.

### EAST WALL: CENTRE

Name and speech were also given to the foremost man in every row behind her, but both are lost at the top, and in the middle row only the words survive: 'Pure for the ka of Amūn of Karnak by the hand of the vizier R.'. The third leader, Bekenamūn, steward of the vizier, says: 'Receive . . . by the hand of the vizier R.' This man appears again on Plate XVII.

In the sub-scene the contribution of lesser men is shown and the severing of the leg of a slaughtered ox. A butcher's assistant holds up a joint, crying: '[Receive...] by the hands of the mayor, etc., R.'

### EAST WALL: SOUTH HALF

PLATES VIII-XII; XLVII, I; LV, 3

The main part of this space is divided into an upper and a lower half in each of which Ramosé is associated with relations of his in the provision of the consecrated meal, and occupies the centre of the scene. This is formal to the last degree, and the texts which fill the space above each group are commonplace enough. The men and women of the vizier's house have much the same faces, wigs, and clothes, but all are carried out in smooth relief and with an almost faultless precision, so far as the imperfections of the rock permit; so that it is a pleasure to dwell on any single hieroglyph, object, or profile, and even on the mechanically perfect ripples of the abundant hair.

In the upper half (Plate x) Ramosé sits with arm bent in invocation; his pet goose below his chair¹ and his beloved wife behind him share a dignified decorum. Meryetptaḥ is an 'ornament of the king, chantress of Amūn, and favourite of [Mut]', and has been given a low cushioned lady's chair. The more interesting part of Ramosé's address has been lost:²

'[Making a ritual offering] doubly pure. A thousand [loaves], etc., for your ka. (Said) by the seigneur, etc., R. He says 'I... my brethren who are in the necropolis. [I] bend' [my arm]... previous to me. My lips carry... his commands (?)... millions (of years), established..."

Persons for whose ka the food is dedicated in this way sit facing Ramosé. Foremost among them is a certain Amenhotpé, a superintendent of recruits or young troops, who bears also the honorific titles of 'seigneur, head companion of the companions, official at the head [of the populace,] ... administrator of [Lower and] Upper Egypt'. His hair gives him the look of an old man. An unnamed wife (?) sits on a stool by his side. Behind him is another of the same name, styled 'his brother', whose main office is 'chief steward to the king in Memphis', seated with his wife beside him. Next comes a man who has lost

<sup>Seen again on Pl. xvi. So in Tombs 18, 100, 112, 155.
Beginning on Pl. Ix. For the opening phrase see Pl. xi.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tch, as Peet observed, must be an error for kch. See Pl. xi. An earlier photograph has now shown that the reading in the next column is hr hiti preceded by m, apparently of imj or imj.w, 'I bend [my arm for him] who was before my time'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the identification of this man and the next as the sons of Hapu and Heby, and a discussion of their relationship to Ramosé, see pp. 2, 3.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

his name, like all the rest that follow, but retains some part of his priestly titles. Behind him were four other men, two seated on stools, one on a high-backed chair, one on a low-backed chair of a simpler type (Plate VIII). All have the hand slightly extended in sign of their participation in the food piled in front of the first figure. These men probably come under the designation 'my brethren who are in the necropolis', and may be relations of Amenhotpé of Memphis or of his wife.

Behind Ramosé his parents, Neby and Apuya, are seated. The text over them is:

'A [ritual] offering<sup>2</sup> to Amūn... that he may give all that has gone up on [his altars at the fest]ivals of heaven and earth, at all the beginnings of seasons [which take place] in Karnak; a reception of ointment when [presents are given] from that which has been discarded in the Great Place; a participation in the [good and pure] food when the gods have been satisfied with the food, as is done [to any righteous man. For the ka of]... the superintendent of the cattle of [Amūn, Neby].'

There is here a curious departure from custom, though usage is followed on the north half of the wall (Plate XXI). Ramosé here, as in the scene below (Plate XII), is not accepting the meal of the dead but consecrating it, as a son should, for his parents, as well as other relations, all of them probably deceased. The unusual feature is that, instead of standing, clothed in the priestly panther-skin, he is comfortably seated with his wife, perhaps to keep his dignity as vizier and priest of Maet, perhaps because the strange taboo laid on that skin cloak a few years later already had his personal adhesion. The position of his parents behind, instead of before him, is only a device to keep his figure in the centre. The text and the attitude of Neby shows that they are partaking of the meal.

The central figures of Ramosé and his wife in the lower row (Plate XII) are quite similar to those above, except that the vizier has doffed his wig and now holds the baton of authority. The text is much the same as that above (Plate XI):

'Making a ritual offering, doubly pure. "A thousand loaves, beer, meat, fowl, and all good and pure food. My hand is bent beneath the delicacies and all manner of fruits in their season and all sweet-smelling herbs. They are doubly pure for the ka of my father and my mother and the brethren who are in the necropolis." He says "I had a serviceable spirit, doing justice for the king of my time. I was rewarded for it by my god (the king). He set me at the head of the companions to carry out the policy of this land. All official-dom prostrated itself to me when I presented petitions daily [to the lord of] the palace."

Ramosé obtains a share in the blessing through the response of his parents:

'What was said by his father and his mother: "O mayor-vizier R.! May thy name be ever in (men's) mouths in thy house of endless (years). May thy soul be with [thee and thy] heart of afore-[time]. Mayest thou receive praises in the ageless boat, being a god and without enemies for ever and ever."

It is curious that Amenhotpé, the 'brother' of Ramosé, sits both behind and in front of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the titles of all these men see the Appendix, pp. 42-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There is plainly only room for htp dy nisw-t, as in Pl. xix.

### EAST WALL: SOUTH HALF

him, once perhaps as his father-in-law and again as a recipient of the blessing. The group behind Ramosé forms a trio, mutually embracing, Amenhotpé himself, his daughter, 'dearly beloved by him and a chantress of Amūn, Meryetptaḥ', and 'her mother, chantress of Amūn, house-mistress, and favourite of the Lady of Egypt, Maÿ'. A cat below Maÿ's chair plays with an unfortunate bird.

The parents of Ramosé on the other side may have been placed behind Amenhotpé and his wife<sup>2</sup> in order to show that the persons behind them again were of kin to him or to

her. Over the offerings placed before the pair is the text:

'All that has gone up on the altar of Onnophris, lord of eternity; an inhalation of the pleasant airs of the north wind; and a daily reception of food on his altar, like the great

ones who are among his followers. For the ka of (Neby and Apuya).'

Another pair is seated behind the parents and also two single men (Plate VIII). The pair are Maÿ, 'superintendent of the king's horses and royal messenger throughout all foreign lands', and his wife, Werel, 'favourite ('musician'?) of Mut of Asheru'. The first of the men is Keshy, 'superintendent of the huntsmen of Amūn'; the other is unnamed. The blessing obtained by the pair is 'The reception of daily bread, that which has gone up before Amūn: it is doubly pure', and that of Keshy 'Satisfaction with the daily rations, the food of the Lord of gods'. It seems as if Ramosé was childless.

### EAST WALL: NORTH HALF

### PLATES XVI-XXI, XLIV, XLVIII, FRONTISPIECE

The space to the left of the scene of worship already described (p. 14) is occupied by a very formal variation of the usual meal of the dead and by other rites. The ceremony which is shown on the left hand of the upper row is that of the use of the sacred oils and ointments. There are fourteen (twice seven) of these, each being accompanied by a formula and by a male figure who wears the officiant's cross-wise sash and carries a jar of the substance in question. The texts are in the form 'For thy ka (such and such a substance) for tomb use through the thousand years of the Osiris, Ramosé'. The substances are:

- I. A salve of festal scent (stj-hb).6
- 2. A salve of heknu oil.
- 3. A salve of sefetch oil.
- 4. A bag of eye-paint and two strips of cloth.
- 5. A salve of ti-shepes gum.
- <sup>1</sup> If this had been a triple group, Meryetptaḥ would have been on one side and Maÿ on the other. This could not well be shown in relief, but, unless it had been wished to give Meryetptaḥ the prominence due to her marriage, she would assuredly have been on the extreme right here.

<sup>2</sup> For a good photograph see Borchardt-Ricke, Egypt, p. 169.

His rank is that of a cavalry officer. He may be owner of the funerary cones 53, 167 of Daressy's list.
His post is also a semi-military one, according to Helck. For the titles of all persons mentioned see p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Two, Pawahy and Bekenamūn, are named. They are seen elsewhere in the tomb (pp. 19 and 15).

6 The word nwd is curiously written, with 7 in place of . Each substance seems to have been made up with fat to form a salve.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

- 6. A salve of iber oil.
- 7. A salve of nebas (nbres) gum.
- 8. A salve of mejet oil.
- 9. A salve of tchewa oil.
- 10. A salve of nikhenem oil.
- 11. A salve of ânji fat.
- 12. A salve of heseket ointment.
- 13. A salve of embalming-ointment.
- 14. A mixture of scented herbs.

These preparations are being brought in sealed jars to Ramosé and his wife. These two sit, the one in a straight-legged chair, the other on one with lion's legs, each smelling a jar of the perfumed fat. The other twelve salves are ranged before them on and under a table, along with some fruit, greenery, and flowers. The vizier's goose is under his chair.

The parents of Ramosé sit behind the pair. The old lady (women are eternally young-looking in the tombs) is dressed in the simpler fashion of her youth,' perhaps under Tuthmosis III. They too have a modest share in the salves. The three texts belonging to the scene run:

'Ho, Osiris, R.! Come in thy body; come in thy transformations; come in the shape of thy earthly existence. Receive thy sweet-scented herbs. Mayest thou' be united with the gods and may they give thee spirit-nature. Thou art pure; thou art divine. Thou goest and comest secretly.'3

'The precious salve cleaves to thee, that thou mayest inhale the wafts as dwellers in thy chest, gods who bind (mrw) thy body, and whose inhalation shall be to thy advantage, O Ramosé.'

'Receive the ointment, balsam, *iber* oil, and various sweet-smelling herbs, by which the gods live. The precious salve fastens on thee, that it may give fragrance to the inbreathing of thy chest. For the *ka* of (Neby and Apuya).'

The rite shown below this, dealing with the daily meal of the dead, is taken next as most akin to the last (Plate XIX). Amenhotpé, cousin(?) of Ramosé, and his wife, Maÿ, participate in it instead of the parents. On the right Ramosé is stretching out his hand to offerings which are arranged symbolically within the arms of a ka placed on the sacred perch, perhaps as food now fitted by consecration for consumption by a ka. A pet monkey

- <sup>1</sup> So on Pl. x, but not on Pl. xI.
- <sup>2</sup> Kwi has been written for k.
- <sup>4</sup> Peet misinterpreted the table on and below which the jars are placed as a box, and translated 'Mayest thou smell the odour of what is in thy box'. But it is not a box, and the addition of the second determinative of flesh to the word bn seems a clear sign that the scribe intended it to read 'thorax' (or the cavity of the body), and not 'box'. The ancients, no less than ourselves, saw the resemblance of the human chest to a box and used the same word for both. There is here an attempt to explain the sacramental use of sweet-smelling substances. To the Egyptian sight and hearing too were manifestations of gods special to these senses. I have had the kind help of Dr. Gardiner in the above translation.

### EAST WALL: NORTH HALF

can just be made out under the chair of Meryetptah. Both pairs are seated on the low platform reserved for members of the family. The texts are:

'Receiving the food as a besought offering which has come forth from within the august dwelling; smelling the frankincense and balsam on the brazier (far away, on Plate xx); eating shen's loaves and draining the milk-jar, soothing the heart with wine and beer and with all manner of sweet-smelling plants and flowers in their season. They are doubly pure. For thy ka, O Osiris, etc. R.'

'A ritual offering to Osiris, ruler of eternity, that he may give an offering-at-the-summons—beef, fowl, cool water, wine, milk, linen, ointment, incense, fruit, all kind of vegetables, and all manner of good and pure food, on which a god lives; enjoyment of the daily delicacies (from) on the altar of On[nophris]. For the ka of (Amenhotpé and Maÿ).'

In front of the recipients the ceremonies are shown by which the food is consecrated. The list of offerings occupies an unusually large space, as every four offerings are seen again on the hands of a kneeling figure; no mere menu, then, but really proffered. As there are seventeen of these, sixty-eight items of food, drink, &c., are enumerated and a last panel contains a résumé of the bounty in these words: 'All fragrant woods, flowers, and fruits for the Osiris, the mayor-vizier R., and every bowl of any pleasant and sweet food which is brought for his ka, pure (when extended) towards the table of the Osiris, the mayor-vizier R.'

The chief officiating priest, with a leopard's skin thrown round him, is seen on the right as a full-scale figure in act of address (Plate xxI). He is 'the week priest of Maet, Pawahy' (seen already on Plate xVII). The rite he is performing is:

'Making a ritual offering, doubly pure. "A thousand loaves, beer, beef, fowl, linen, ointment and incense, water, wine, milk, fruit, a thousand of all things pleasant and sweet, of all flowers, of all things good and pure."

'The iunmetef priest purifies, and (acting) as Thoth, makes offering.' For the ka of the Osiris, etc., R. Receive thou the food as a besought offering, fruits which have been offered before Amūn. Choice joints have been severed for thy ka, and hearts for thy mummified sâh, that thy soul may live to eternity, safe from destruction for ever.'

Besides this priest whose office is the proper recitation of the prescribed formula, nine other officiants supplement his words by significant acts. This dramatic accompaniment of the ritual meal is shown below the list of offerings (Plate xx). 'Casting water (?) on the [coffer] of Ramosé' refers to the action of a 'lector' who casts a stream of water from a vase on to the lid of a box (?), over which it is spread by a kneeling assistant. A 'father of the god' throws a stream of water ('Providing cold water') into a cup held by a kneeling 'chancellor of the god' ('Presenting a cup of water'). The text 'washing(?) the table (?) of R.' accompanies a repetition of the first act, with a change of the object purified. A second 'father' casts grains of incense into a flaming dish (shaped like a \Omega sign) set on a holder. He is 'making a censing. Doubly pure!' The docket to a man with a very long

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A similar passage on Pl. xxvIII, 1 omits m before  $\underline{D}hw \cdot tj$ . Probably  $wdn \cdot f$  is to be read instead of  $wdn \cdot nf$ .

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

roll is perhaps 'The lector [making spells (śɔbw)]'. The last actor is one often seen at such ceremonials, and is generally supposed to be sweeping away all footprints or debris before closing the door ('The lector bringing away the foot'). Though what he trails behind him here looks more like a paddle than a broom, he certainly seems to be a door-keeper, and the action will probably be that which marked the close of the ordinary domestic meal.

The rite which neighbours this (Plate xxI) is also of elementary importance, the purification of the person as well as of the food and the utensils. It is labelled 'Purifying the Osiris, R. in his dwelling in the West'. Ramosé stands on a clean slab, as he would in his bathroom, and two attendants, the lector-sem and the lector-semer, are sluicing him with water cast from the two prescribed vessels, the deshret and the nemset, with a fourfold murmur, 'Doubly pure!' Either this is merely pictorial or in addition each servant traced a trail of the purifying water 'right round him four times', using a fresh vessel each time. Ramosé, whom one might expect to find stripped naked for the rite, is, however, dressed in his best, having a collar of gold disks and a heart-amulet hung round his neck and carrying a walking-stick, as if proceeding confidently to the hall of the last judgement. The curious staff in his hand is merely the sign for natron \$\mathbb{1}\$, the liquid which has cleansing qualities more potent even than water. The everyday bath and the ritual cleansing by symbol thus mingle in a rite in which common sense and mysticism reinforce one another. It can now be said 'He is so ministered to on (this?) day of his birth as to become a spirit, fully furnished and divine; he is placed in the forefront among the spirits.' This spiritual destiny is emphasized by the figures of two kneeling priests, the imy-is and 'the chancellor of the god', who call on all and sundry to chant spells for the dead. 'Said by the lector, the sem, the semer, the chancellor of the god, and the imy-is. "Read ye spells aloud for the benefit of the Osiris, Ramosé." On the other side are seen two men in the attitude of those who sing the henu chant. They are lectors, 'making various spells for the benefit of the Osiris, Ramosé.'

The last rite, that of the presentation of the emblems sacred to Hat-hor (Plate XVIII) was less essential and invited less formal treatment. Though the proportions of the standing figures will not bear scrutiny, small compromises meet the situation so cleverly that a very pleasant composition results. Each of the three women acting as priestesses of Hat-hor brings either a sistrum or a *menyet*, and also the fly-flap which, elsewhere too, is associated with the rite. It is not clear if they are members of the family or of the temple staff.

The action of the women in holding out the sacred objects to be touched was accompanied by the words 'Receive [thou the sistrums and men] yets of Amen-Rêc'. A longer address is written overhead, from right to left (but with the signs facing left), as if its power were directed to Ramosé and the triumphant close touched him nearly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The rite is shown in Tombs 39, 49, 82, 86, 100, 109, 127, and in most cases the fly-flap is also carried. Cf. also Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, 11, Pl. xv. For the text see Davies, The Tomb of Puyemrê, 11, Pl. LIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> No doubt spelt as in the address above.

This symbolic value of the mere direction of the writing is not infrequently adopted, sometimes by the reversal of one word or phrase merely. So with the speech of the king to the vizier in Tomb 100 and in other texts there.

### EAST WALL: NORTH HALF

'O mayor-vizier R.! For thy ka, the sistrums and menyets of Amūn, lord of the thrones of Egypt: receive them held to thy nostrils! Thy lord Amūn favours thee and thou shalt be beside him for millions (of years). He ensures for thee life in his train: he renews breath for thy nostril. Thou art enduring like heaven: thou standest firm and livest: thou renewest thy freshness of youth as water is fresh. Thou and thy ka are pure, the Nile issuing from Osiris. Thou makest friends with the gods of the horizon; never dost thou perish.'

Ramosé now has the benediction of the gods, conveyed through objects sacred to them; has found a bodily benison in the scent of the holy spices, has been purified by water and natron in effective rite, and has received pure food such as a god thrives on.

### SOUTH WALL: UPPER HALF

### PLATES XXII-XXVII, XLIX

Ramosé, having made all preparation for the event, meets with death and, in picture at least, his body is interred with all due rites in his tomb, where, by pictured faith, he is made welcome by its kindly *châtelaine* and, passing all tests, is accepted into the heaven of the high gods. Actually, however, he appears to have been disappointed in the hope of resting in the magnificent abode which this volume describes. Any further illusion happily lay beyond his certain ken, as it lies beyond ours. Plate xxII shows the assumption into bliss, set forth in simplest fashion. Ramosé and his wife present themselves, after burial and acquittal, before the throne of Osiris with an offering. The god is accompanied by Isis and Horus (or Anubis). The text over the pair runs:

'The adoration [of Osiris by] the regent of the entire land, the mayor-vizier R. He says "I have come in peace. I ended life in the favour of the good god (the king). I did what was desired by men, that with which the gods were content. I did what my citygod (?) approved; I did not belittle what he commanded. I did no wrong to men, but I did right upon Earth; for I knew  $(rb \cdot kwi)$  that thou rewardest the righteous of heart who does no deed of wrong."

Meryetptah also hails the god: 'Giving praise to Osiris, homage to Onnophris, the triumphant one. 'Hail to thee, O king, Lord of Eternity, son of Nut and heir of Geb..."

The funeral rites which preceded this happy termination are set forth in two rows which lead up to a figure of the goddess of the west. Usually there are more than this, but all the mysterious rites which, up to this time, were wont to fill them are here omitted (as in most tombs of this reign), giving room for a large-scale presentation of what is left. This residue admits only the inevitable necessity for interment, human grief, and the larger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The judgement is rarely pictured till Ramesside times, being found only in Tombs 57, 63, 69 at Thebes, all of them of, or near, the time of Ramosé.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENES

faith in the benevolent rule of the gods. Only one grim relic persists from days when the unseen world held unlimited sway. The *teknu*, the servant sacrificed to give company to his master on this the last of his adventures, still appears in the funeral procession, though the victim now plays only a mummer's part. The goddess, though identified with Hat-hor, 'regent of the necropolis, lady of heaven, and mistress of the north wind', is little more than a vivid personification of the peace of the necropolis, a realm hinted at by the patch of sand beneath her feet. She gains by being feminine and by holding no hint of impending judgement.

The upper of the two rows before her is reserved for the funeral convoy, the lower for mourners and porters of burial furniture.<sup>2</sup> The tomb to which the procession moves is symbolized in two different ways. In the upper row it is shown as a square rectangle, gay with alternate blue and green bands (horizontal above, vertical below), and set on a high blue dais. In the lower, it looks like the compressed façade of a white tomb, with a framed doorway on a sill, a cornice at the top, and three rows of cones forming a string-course below this.<sup>3</sup> The upper representation is labelled 'The first door of the underworld'; the lower, 'the pure (?) chapel of the west'. This differentiation occurs regularly at Thebes; it very likely marks the two places of offering, the outside one, accessible to all, and the inside one, to which only the family had entry.<sup>4</sup> The idea that the outer door of the tomb is the first on the way to the underworld is new. Four more similar ones are shown below this over the descent to the burial place (Plate xxvIII). But this brightly painted door in front of the kindly goddess is a very different thing from those forty guard-houses before whose horrid occupants the dead trembles at a slightly later period.

The persons in the two registers are to be thought of as proceeding side by side and sharing the same performance. Hence the first six priestly officiants are taking part in the final purification of the coffined dead and of the offerings to him, before the deposition in the tomb. The first in the upper row is the woman who impersonates one of the 'kites', Isis or Nephthys. She is taking the cover off a censing bowl to let the cleansing fumes escape ('Making a [censing for] the Osiris, R.'). Three priests, probably all 'fathers of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From now on the *teknu* (possibly 'one who has entry', confidential servant) only appears sporadically (Tombs 36, 41, 276,284).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The upper row was obliterated by a thick yellow wash; possibly when Ramosé realized that he would not be buried here. It is now cleared away.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pottery cones are pictured on exteriors in Tombs 49, 159, 178, 181. I think there is fair evidence for such a cornice, perhaps with a parapet above it, carried out in burnt brick, in the tombs of Senmut and Senmen (Nos. 71 and 252). If it was sometimes, or commonly, carried out in rough mud-work, traces of this might easily be lost. But the proper sky-line for a frontage seems to have been a plain line, strengthened at times by a row of pottery cones at, or near, the top. Note that the recent restorers of the frontage of our tomb have placed a cornice over the entrance; wrongly, I think, though it is common at El Amarna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The important subject of 'false doors' cannot be gone into here. The two types are regular at Thebes (Davies, Paintings from the Tomb of Rekhmirēc, Pl. xxiii; Tomb of Kenamūn, Pl. xL; N. M. Davies—Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhêt, Pl. x). But they go back to the Fifth Dynasty (Davies, Mastaba of Ptahhetep, I, Pl. xxix), and farther. Are these two doors entrances to the underworld and the burial chamber respectively, to the men's and women's quarters, or are they the outer and inner doors of the tomb? The last seems to be the original distinction, the plain-topped building representing the early panelled mastaba, and the corniced monument reflecting an inner doorway, the usual 'false door'.

### SOUTH WALL: UPPER HALF

god', like the last of them, bring formal contributions to the ritual offering to the dead ('laying offerings on the ground for the Osiris, R.').

The procession proper is met by a lector, a lay figure into whose mouth is put an

explanation of the proceedings:

'Making fitting burial for the mayor-vizier R., and bringing the god (the dead) up to his horizon (the place where he sinks to rest). Following the mayor-vizier R. to (his) section of the necropolis in full peace with the great god; proceeding in peace to heaven, to the horizon, to the fields of Ialu(?), to the underworld, to the place in which these gods are, in full peace for ever and ever.'

Two groups, each of four men, represent 'all the gentry and all the proletariat'; as their attitude shows, they are in an exultant mood. '(Praise) is given in heaven, chants on earth, and jubilation in the underworld. Thy fame is exalted like heaven; thy monuments are secure, O Ramosé." There follow two teams of four bulls and four cows, which are supposed to draw the (distant) bier, but, as sometimes happens, the inconvenient rope is omitted.3 A man walks by the side of the bulls, carrying a jar of milk, a bunch of foliage for asperging the path, and a green goad (?). He is said to be 'purifying with milk in front of the Osiris, R.'. Beside the cows a lector (who must have worn a leopard's skin, since he has been deeply erased) walks, offering incense from a spoon and a libation ('making incense and libation, purifying the road to the Holy Land in front of the Osiris, R., that (he) may rest in his seat in the necropolis for ever'). The bier is preceded by the suggestive figure of the teknu, crouching on hands and knees and covered up, so that, but for examples where he sits up or his head and heels protrude from the covering, one would scarcely suspect a human being. The black bundle more resembles a slaughtered ox, and indeed the likeness may well have been intended. This figure is on a sled which is drawn by four men by means of a tasselled rope interwoven with gaily coloured strands. Neither here nor elsewhere is the added text very enlightening, and probably the Egyptians were only aware that the teknu was a proxy for the dead. Three separate texts are given which, from their position, ought to describe the act:

'Men of Neter (Behbet) dragging the teknu."4

'Men of the district of the three(?) pools(?) entering and leaving.'5

Behind the *teknu* the great bier, set on a bark mounted on runners, is dragged by four men. The text placed over the *teknu* seems to be the description of this scene:

'The royal kindred dragging and making good progress by land towards the gates of the horizon, to his resting-place in the holy land and conveying R., the triumphant one (mschrw)

<sup>2</sup> The text has been muddled, but evidently was meant to read ks bsw k mi pt mn mnw k.

4 Read stit tknw in rmt·w ntr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This figure still shows incised lines, and the preceding ones a still greater measure of relief; but in the lower register relief ends almost completely with the goddess.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> It is always possible that there was no error, but strict realism, the teams having been unyoked at the steep approach to the tomb, and the bier drawn by men thenceforward.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Tombs 82, 112, 125 have much the same text, but all add 'four times' and Tomb 125 omits 'leaving'. The 'pools' are variously assigned to Heket, the *teknu*, Sokaris, and Khepera (?).

that he may have rest and that his mummy may thrive for ever and ever to eternity.'

The four men represent men of Pe and Dep (districts of Buto), of Hermopolis, of Sais, of Heturkau (unidentified). A man, dressed in a closed mantle and holding a staff upright before him, follows. He is elsewhere styled 'priest of Sokaris', but here 'the great one of the god'. The bier is guarded fore and aft by wooden figures of the elder and younger 'kites' (that is, Isis and Nephthys), and women impersonating the goddesses also precede and follow the catafalque. A text identifies the hidden occupant as 'one acceptable to [Amūn], beloved by the Lord of Egypt, R.'. Three men, no doubt the nearest relatives, walk behind the bier. A second catafalque, resembling the first, but smaller, is then dragged forward by four men as the first was; it probably contains the jars of viscera. These men are labelled 'Men [of Dep]. They drag the mayor-vizier R. to the west of Thebes in full peace.' Before and over the naos is written: '[He who is acceptable] to Osiris, lord of burial . . . the mayor-vizier R.' The tail of the procession is formed by four men, representatives of the bureaucracy, who salute the passing of their superior. They are the chief, the second, third, and fourth priests of Amūn, the last being named Si[amūn] (or possibly, Simût). He adopts a peculiar attitude. The four are said to be 'following the procession of R., favourite of the good god, to the west of Thebes in full peace'.

The Lower Register. In front of the tomb two coffins stand, the foremost assigned to Ramosé, the one behind to Meryetptah. Both are yellow, with the bands shown in red line. The first is bearded and wears the cone of ointment; the second is not so and has a woman's fair complexion. They are set on a patch of clean sand. Facing them is a sem priest, wearing the reed cape of his order and flinging water over the coffined dead from four jars. Before him is a casket, the contents of which, the magic tools of the necromancer,

are displayed above it. Behind him is a lector. The text is:

'Speech of the lector. "[Go round] about four times with four *nemset* jars of water." To be said four times. "Twice pure (art thou), O Osiris, R.! Thy purifications are those of Horus, Set, Thôth, Dunâwi, and theirs are thine." To be said four times. "Twice pure (art thou), O R.! Thou receivest thy head; thy bones are joined together for thee before Geb, it is Thôth who unites him (?) so that his [flesh] is complete."

A great mass of food and drink is piled up here and a man who wore the priestly skin (and was therefore erased by the Atenists) fumigates the pile with incense. The text is:

'Making offerings for the Osiris, R. Said by the lector: "A ritual offering to Rêr and to Geb, that they may give a thousand loaves, etc., for the ka of R. Twice pure!"'

This group of male officiants is balanced by one of women. Foremost is a row of four in red and yellow wraps, standing in a respectful attitude. There follow four girls in red and yellow, their head-cloths and the petticoats which are tied round their waists by white sashes being of opposite colours. Two of them beat the breast and two offer minute joints

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This pile, with its tumbled profusion, its queerly shaped loaves, and its beribboned tables, strikes an unfamiliar note, heralding Ramesside predilections. Cf. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, Pl. VII.

# SOUTH WALL: UPPER HALF

on dishes. Two women pour dust on their heads and wave their arms. Nine more adopt a curious attitude, perhaps slapping arms and thighs. Finally, another nine squat on the ground and, gathering up dust, scatter it on their heads, while tears run down their cheeks in orderly streams. Owing to the dust, the garments of this and the preceding group are completely covered and streaked with bluish-grey (the so-called blue of mourning).<sup>1</sup>

The file of thirteen men who follow have a superscription which is perhaps to be put

into the mouth of the last man, over whom the speech ends:

'Move on, O leader, carrying the offerings for the favourite of Maet, daughter of Rêr. Make all speed; for the sarcophagus has come up and is close upon us. What I say is sense.'

Each man carries a yoke over his shoulder from which is hung a box of bread(?) with cooling foliage on top, and a jar of water; every other man holds flowers too. The foremost brings a little outfit for purification by incense and water. He pays no attention to the complaint from the rear. 'The everyday lector, Hesen[amūn], says 'I have come and have brought thee various offerings made in front of [Amūn] that thy ka may be pleased therewith.''

Half the women have placed themselves near the bier (evidently, though this is in the upper register) and, turning towards it, fling their arms about and throw dust on their hair. Most are young, one so small as to be unclothed. An elder woman in the forefront is evidently the wife, and lest her feelings should outrun her strength, or in the hope that they may seem to, she is supported by a young attendant. 'The people of his household say: "The great shepherd has gone; he passes by us. Come, lead us to pasture!"' Their appeal is vain; the coffin passes on, followed by the porters of the objects set apart for furnishing the burial chamber.

Of the sixteen men the first carries two boxes of *shawabti* figurines to be at the owner's service in the future life; the second, two jars of ointment and two cruses of oil; the third, a cushioned chair, a writing tablet, and a pen-case. Four bring caskets which, being similar, can be shown by a repetition of outline, like their bearers. A pair of sandals and a cane are in their hands. Two men carry a bed between them,<sup>2</sup> and, as the burden is on their heads and only steadied by one hand apiece (the other being well filled with a fan, a stool, and a writing-case), the situation is only tolerable if the two keep pace. This does not seem to have been done; for one hisses to the other under his breath: 'Get on! Mend your pace!'

The man behind them contributes a casket and a skin. Six men follow in a group, each with a wine-jar on his shoulder; a seventh makes the cheaper gift of birds and flowers. They may be bringing personal gifts, for they are all men of some position and many are retainers. The leader, one Maḥu, keeper of poultry and dutiful servant, speaks for all. 'He says 'O mountain of the west, open (for) Ramosé! Hide him within thee!" 'His

<sup>2</sup> The head-rest is at the open end; for the Egyptian slept with his feet at what we should term the head of the bed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A full-size painting of all these women by Nina M. Davies is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, and the rest of the register to near the end has been published in colour in her *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, 1, Pls. LXXI–LXXIII, and III, pp. 136–9. Hence this colour-work is unrepresented in the present volume.

companions are Hesybeknef and Tonufer, servants of the vizier; Kenemsau and his son [Amen]emoné (?), dutiful barbers; Heskebptaḥ (Hesptaḥ?) and Tonufer, [born of Mut]tuy, servants of the vizier; Peḥefemnufer, servant of Ramosé and butcher; Men, a servant of Ramosé; Thutmosé, dutiful scribe of cattle.

The funeral procession is closed by fifteen men, forming a delegation which represented the bureaucracy or privy council. They wear a thin mantle, very lightly indicated, over more usual garments. The first four keep the right hand uplifted in salutation to the dead, but it is a tiring position to maintain and some are obliged to support this arm with the left. These four, walking one by one, are the 'son of the king of Kush', 'chief herald of the king', 'supreme overseer of the treasury', and 'second herald of the Lord of Egypt'.' A group of four more are 'Companions, chief men of the palace', and another of seven, 'officials, chief men of the city'. These fifteen are described as 'following in the procession of one who had the approval and love of the Lord of Egypt, the mayor-vizier, Ramosé'. No one can say that it was not 'a good burial'.

#### SOUTH WALL: LOWER HALF

PLATE XXVIII, 2

This long stretch is decorated only over the sloping entrance to the burial chambers. Here have been cut in rather rough relief four figures of Ramosé, facing the west and walking with his staff towards a tomb shown in the two forms we have met with above. In the first and larger panel the tomb takes the form of a 'false door' with cornice. In this case Ramosé is accompanied by two priests, one of whom is bringing a simple offering, the other passing a haunch into, or laying it before, the deep recess which marks the entrance. A second panel shows Ramosé himself bringing bread and water to a simpler doorway. This seems out of place, unless it represents one of the doors of the underworld instead of his own tomb, and indeed one like it was so styled in the scene above. An examination of the figure betrays that when drawn in ink it was intended to be in the exact form of the next two, standing with the right arm pendent, the left holding a staff, and a column of text behind it. The sculptor, however, decided to give it a different form, and this necessitated moving both figure and door to the left. The other two figures seem to show Ramosé standing before successive gates of the underworld. If so, there is one propitiatory offering for all the gates. The change seems made in order to indicate that a new phase begins with the second panel. Ramosé, having entered his well-supplied tomb, is not confined to it but, passing through, may set out on the stages of the journey which will bring him into the presence of the gods of the dead, or, having set in the west like Rêr, may rise again in the east with Khepera. His festal appearance is a little surprising. He has the cone

<sup>1</sup> A further appellation is given to distinguish him from the other Tonufer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The use of n m3ct for m3c, 'right good', is very unusual, or even new, at this date, and its introduction here may be influenced by a tendency, observable in Tomb 100, to look on the vizier as Rightness personified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> To these four lay members of the Cabinet must be added the four of the priesthood in the row above. With the vizier they would be an ennead. Is this a reflection of the heavenly government?

#### SOUTH WALL: LOWER HALF

of ointment on his head and wears a pectoral hanging from the neck by a broad ribbon. In the third figure it is a winged scarab, and this may be the device in the other cases, but within a naos. The red cross-lines,' and often the black lines of the drawing also, are seen wherever the original surface is preserved. There appears to be no connexion between the series of figures here and that on the adjoining west wall (Plates xxx, xxxi), unless a parallel was seen between this journey and the advance which Ramosé had made through the various stages of his career before he could present himself as vizier before the throne of his earthly ruler. The squaring lines extend a little to the left of the relief, but there is no sign that the rest of the lower part of the wall was to be decorated.

#### WEST WALL: SOUTH SIDE

PLATES XXIX-XXXI; L-LII; LV, 4

The tomb follows current Theban custom in placing on both sides of the inner doorway on the west wall of the outer hall scenes in which the reigning king receives the owner, to review his official acts and perhaps reward him for his zeal. In this tomb, which appears to have been begun in the last years of Amenophis III, we might have looked either for that king or for his successor. The second cartouche before the king on the south side is fortunately well preserved, and the addition 'great in his duration', so characteristic of Amenophis IV, makes it almost certain that it is the person of the young king that we have before us. The erasure of the first cartouche and the attached epithet in the second confirm this, and the Horus-name of the king on the posts decides the question.<sup>2</sup> This textual witness to the identity of the king was needed, since his face and form are completely in the style of his father, nothing in the picture betraying the slightest adumbration of the representational changes which were to come in even before the tomb received its final record.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 7.25 cm. apart.

The survival of the personal name here is not due to caprice; it was the prenomen of the heretical king that his enemies abhorred and did their best to erase. The personal name, with its main element, Amenhotpé, common to three kings before him, having been allowed to stand by the Atenists (see Davies, J.E.A. IX, p. 140, note 2), was retained by his opponents, not without malice, since it would have been hateful to its owner in his later years. A tiny trace to the right below the half-destroyed disk in the first cartouche is a little more like the feather of Maet than the tarsus of a beetle. It is just possible that the orthodox had turned the name into Neb-maet-Rêr, and even thought by a rude scratch to increase the likeness of the profile to that of Amenophis III, forgetting the other evidence. In any case they probably expected the figure to be generally taken as that of Amenophis III. The cartouche, which seems to have been on plaster, may have fallen away later.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be confessed with regret that Borchardt's attack on Von Bissing in Mitteilungen der D.O.G. LVII, pp. 21, 22, was prejudiced, and his judgement of the facts perverted. Even if the profile has been damaged, it should be remembered that Villiers Stuart first worked here. He published Akhenaten's head and other figures 'from casts', by which he probably means paper squeezes, taken by native help (Funeral Tent, Pls. 17, 20). Such a procedure might well cause injury. The work on this side of the wall is in places amazingly clumsy. The irregularities in the rock were filled so carelessly with coarse grey plaster that the patch protruded and spread beyond the hole. There are several such places on the face and figure of the king, and the profile can never have been very sharply defined. It even seems as if some one, perhaps a native, had gone over it with a blunt instrument, but any alteration of it to fit the profile of Akhenaten seems quite impossible, as well as unevidenced. There is, then, every reason to believe that the figure was drawn to represent Amenophis IV and is still practically unaltered, if somewhat more unsightly. The outline on Pl. xxix is from a careful tracing of mine, inserted for my better satisfaction in Emery's full-size drawing. The similar profile of Maet is also from a tracing by me.

The unusual addition to the name 'the special image of Rêr whom he [loves] more than any (other) king' is to be noted."

In Tomb 226 the monarch is accompanied by his mother, in Tomb 47 by his wife, but here by the goddess Maet herself, his sister by the common fatherhood of Rêr,² the divine side of the king's office being stressed with advantage to his dignity. Her position here is regarded as natural, for she is given the title 'dweller in the palace'. An unusual feature is that she holds the triple rnp·t sign ('years'), generally associated with Seshat or Hat-hor and notched; it is a symbol of her written promise, 'she gives millions (of years)'. The sun-disk, which by means of its guardian cobra offers the sign of life to the king's nostrils, is the less engaging forerunner of the many-handed globe of the Aten cult. The hawk, which by its use as a back to the throne enfolds the king in its protecting wings, is here replaced by the vulture Nekhbet.

The platform of the throne contains the familiar series of the archaic 'nine bows', or nine subject peoples, each of which is shown as a man of the race, whose torso is replaced by a battlemented enclosure with the name of the people within it. The names here are those of the Hau-nebu, Shutiu, Upper Egypt, Sekhetiu-im, the Delta, Pedetiu-shu, Tehenu, Iuntiu-seti, Mentiu-setet. No attempt was made to present the nine racial types. Though four of the faces have been lost by recent mutilation, it is known that Semitic heads were given to all, save to the man of the South, and perhaps to the Libyan.

The subject which was to fill the space to the left of the kiosk is not fully known, as it was only partially executed, but the rest would probably have been very formal, unless it included the reward of Ramosé. He was to appear before the king, and not once only, but, for each function of his or for each blessing which he mediates, there was to be a figure carrying an appropriate symbol. Four are extant and a long text accompanies the first two, up to the full height of the wall. Beyond this, the field was to be divided into two registers, and two more half-finished figures of Ramosé lie in the lower.<sup>5</sup>

The first figure of Ramosé (Plate xxx) carries a stout staff, terminating in the crowned

I think that man would rather overcrowd the space. Perhaps on might have been written. Peet's is less attractive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So in Tombs 93, 106. In Tomb 72 Amenophis II has his mother with him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For the two objects suspended by loops which replace the usual sed heb signs, cf. J.E.A. XXIII, Pl. XVIII, 4 (from Sesebi). The symbolism is not clear. Are they plummets from the scales of Justice, or are they leaves on a shoot of the tree of life? Or what?

<sup>4</sup> This indifference is almost as great in Tomb 57, but is partially abandoned in Tomb 48. It is curious that, while the list is the same in these three tombs, Tomb 120 of the same reign has only three names common to all and its racial types are fully differentiated. Villiers Stuart saw the relief intact and gives the seventh name, now lost. This and most of his other copies have no value for detail (Egypt after the War, Pl. 16). Head No. 2 is now in the Samborn collection in Paris, and No. 5 in the Royal Museum, Brussels (Bulletin des Musées Royaux, 1934, figs. 28, 30). In similar scenes the favoured official is usually ushered in by one or two fan-bearers who extend their fans into the king's kiosk in sign of homage. In our case the artist preferred to place the fans in the hands of the signs of Life and Prosperity, who thus stand as faithful attendants on the monarch. The mental instinct which endows abstract qualities with personality contributes in great measure to the attractiveness of Egyptian design.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Much the same empty design was used on the corresponding wall of Tomb 48, the file of figures occupying there, to all appearance, both an upper and a lower register; but it is even less completely carried out than here. Something

# WEST WALL: SOUTH SIDE

ram's head of Amūn, with a little figure of the king standing on a bracket below it, as if under its protection, Amūn himself being guarded by as many as five divine cobras. What the second figure carried was never carved, but remains as a raised rectangle. As he is said to be 'bringing a bouquet of Rêr-Harakhti', the object was probably a platter with a tightly bound bunch of flowers lying on it. Invocations by these two figures are:

'Said by the mayor-vizier, R.: "For thy ka, a bouquet of thy father [Amen-Rêr, Lord] of the Thrones of Egypt,2 President of Karnak. May he praise thee, love thee, and prolong thy life. May [he] give ... [on the] great [throne]. May he overthrow thy enemies in death [and in life], while thou art firmly established on the throne of Horus, lord of the living. All life and prosperity be thine, all health be thine, like thy father Rêr daily."'

'Said by The Mouth of Nekhen, the high priest of Maet, the mayor-vizier, R., "For thy ka, a bouquet of thy father, the living Rêr-Harakhti, who rejoices on the horizon in his name 'the brightness which is Aten'. May he praise thee, love thee, and prolong thy life, and give thee millions of years and thy record of sed festivals, all lands being under thy sandals. May he overthrow thy enemies in death and in life. May all joy be thine, all health be thine, all life be thine, while thou art firmly established on the throne of Rêr for ever and ever."

The third figure (Plate xxxI) carries a staff, the lost head of which probably represented Mût, a bouquet, and a bunch of foliage. The text above records: '["For thy ka, a bouquet of Mût]. May she love thee and put her arms as a protection behind thee." (Said) by the mayor-vizier, R.' The fourth figure carried papyrus stems, foliage, and a staff with the emblem of Khons, a hawk's(?) head crowned with the sun's disk, and with the royal figure below this, as previously. The text is: "For thy ka, a bouquet of Khons-hotpé (sic, for 'Khons-Neferhotep'). May he grant that all joy be thine." (Said) by the Mouth of Nekhen, the high priest of Maet, the mayor-vizier, R.' The short text describes the act as 'Bringing a bouquet of the king', the last word being an error for 'Khons'. The admission of this obvious slip shows a lack of supervision which should put us on our guard.4

These representations of the vizier have very special interest owing to the incomplete state of the work on them, the four displaying in the most signal way the procedure of the sculptor from beginning to end of his task. On the left we have the blank wall. Then comes a figure drawn in black ink upon red squaring lines, 34 inches (8.25 cm.) apart. The sculptor is working from the right and from the bottom upwards, and has already incised the lines of the advanced foot of the last figure, and has cut back the surface on the right as far as the staff and up to the raised hand grasping it. The outlines are cut vertically and

similar occurs, too, in Tomb 188, of the reign of Amenophis IV, where several figures of the owner face the throne on both sides of the doorway. On the west side there are at least eight such (unfinished), four of them carrying hawk-headed staffs (Davies, J.E.A. 1x, p. 140).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A bouquet of Rêr-Harakhti is, I think, rare. This god has gained an honour, but is still behind Amūn in rank.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This epithet is supplied from Stuart.

<sup>3</sup> Though this was to become the formal name of the god of Akhenaten, it is here still only a designation of Rêr-Harakhti and remains so on the block from Karnak in Berlin (Schaefer, Kunst des Alten Orients, p. 360).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For these two figures cf. Mlle Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, Pl. x.

sharply and a little outside the lines of the draughtsman, so that these, with the red network, are still in evidence. The upper part of the preceding figure above the lower outline of the outstretched arm is also still in ink merely. Up to this line the figure stands out from the background, the sinking being still by hard outlines, though some of them have reached a farther stage and have had their sharp edges taken off. A mistake was made with the bouquet, a corner of it being carelessly cut off: the missing part has been indicated in ink roughly, but there is no sign that it was ever made good in plaster. The inside details of this figure are indicated by incised lines. The third and fourth figures from the left are quite complete, except for the object carried by the third, the ink design for which was either never put in or was cleared off. In these figures the edges of the outlines have been rounded off, the surface near the inner features being sloped back, so as to give them a measure of relief. The jawbones, eye-sockets, ankle-bones, and other minor features have been moulded and the surface smoothed down. Shape and execution alike are without reproach. It is the more strange that great carelessness was shown in preparing the first surface. As already noted in the case of the king, the defects in the rock were filled in with very coarse plaster of an unpleasant tint, which was allowed to protrude and splash, so that, even if given a final coat, it would be a permanent disfigurement. It was not a later addition; the ink lines are carried over it.

#### WEST WALL: NORTH SIDE

#### PLATES XXXII-XXXVIII, LII-LIV

The contrast which this wall presents to that on the other side of the doorway is an epitome of the most striking episode in Egyptian history, when the seemingly indissoluble continuity of Egyptian traditions was broken through with a suddenness which better knowledge of the movements of thought and political outlook might discount, but which none the less gives a fully revolutionary character to the change. Three or four years seem to have sufficed to bring into outward being that for which one would have proposed a century of preparation at least.<sup>2</sup> The conversion of Ramosé is almost as surprising as that of Saul into Paul, though he was fortunate in having a name that, unlike his king's, needed no change. The time had been too short for revolution to become pure fanaticism. Ramosé was loyal enough to the old to leave what he had recorded essentially unchanged. But he was loyal also to the new, and before he abandoned the tomb he placed on this blank wall the new version of the familiar scene. The draughtsmen, who had not yet finished the draft of the old design, were set to make others of a totally new sort; the sculptors dropped

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hence the outline on the *upper* surface of the sloping edge of a relief would seem to be the correct one, though in cases of lightly raised or deeply incised relief the copyist will best reproduce the effect by a half-way compromise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I am still inclined to the opinion that the early stelae K, X at El Amarna date from the fourth year of the reign, as stated in my El Amarna, v, p. 28. But see Peet in W. Brunton's Kings and Queens of Ancient Egypt, p. 91. A letter from Memphis in the middle of year 5 is a difficulty, as it holds to the old régime. But the letter may have been withheld in consequence and the bold writer punished. Two copies were found at Gurob, not at the royal head-quarters.

#### WEST WALL: NORTH SIDE

their chisels when half-way through a stereotyped figure of the vizier to work in an unfamiliar mode. The artists at least created new types which at once became models for the period, though neither the king nor his vizier, even though they had gained in realism, would be recognizable to men steeped in traditional representations. And so hurried were the times that before either artist or sculptor could half complete their first composition they were hustled away to a new scene of action, abandoning their mental and social anchors. The change has been belittled by those who hate sensation and distrust revolution. The apotheosis of the Aten remains the most swift and surprising upheaval of the very ancient world that has been revealed to the historian. Had the instructions of Ramosé to his designers been that nothing was to retain its old aspect, what they have given us would fulfil them. Physiognomies, pose, royal dress, palace, architecture, foreigners, wear unfamiliar modes; even the sun-disk with its guardian cobra has a different angle of appearance. Nor is the change superficial. The attitude of the king to supernatural powers has altered; the sun reaches down to earth and temple insignia have disappeared. His relations to his people, too, are more intimate; he no longer sits on the throne like an imposing automaton. The place and manner of his appearance are different, and every figure and group in front of him has acquired greater vitality. Dignity and decorative symbolism may be diminished, but they have been broken down by a new sensitiveness and warmth of feeling. The impression received is not of due obedience to an order from head-quarters, but of long-suppressed sympathies suddenly given, not only freedom, but a welcome. The design on this wall is evidently not one that has been pensively planned, but the early product of a wholehearted outburst of feeling. Egypt had awaked one morning, it would seem, to find the gods in full retreat, the sun shining, the king at the palace window, and the populace dancing in the streets of the city. The Aten had been 'found'. Bitter illusion was for the days to come.

On the left of the picture of the window of audience, presently to be noticed, are the attendants on the royal pair, arranged in four main registers. Perhaps they are to be thought of as behind the king and queen within the building. Two of the men are 'constables' and are armed with stout batons, two are 'overseers of the royal harem', and three are 'wardens of the women'. There are two groups of female attendants, five in all, each carrying a feather fan, and each group is led by a male fan-bearer. These two are probably the king's fan-bearers. The thick loins which are given to women at El Amarna are prominent here too. The women wear ear-rings and sometimes sandals. All these attendants are carried out in particularly high relief, the contrast of which with the rest of the sculpture strikes an inharmonious note; this innovation did not persist. The work here varies greatly and in general is not highly finished, and the sketched hieroglyphs at the foot are still in the rough. But the design is pleasing and carries us prematurely from Thebes to El Amarna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is certain that Ramosé did not come back from El Amarna and add this picture in his Theban tomb. The king's firm resolution to abandon his old capital for ever would justify his vizier in doing the like to his monument, and would render any new work there very improbable, and still more any unfinished work. The early forms of the names of both king and queen are decisive (p. 32, note 7).

The building shown on Plate xxxIII is perhaps best taken as a bay projecting from the frontage of the palace (of Malkata?), with a framed opening in front, the continuous lintel of which, with its chevaux de frise of uraei, is only broken in order to avoid the severance of the sun's rays.¹ The four palm columns supporting a corniced roof above the building are probably not those of a second story, but either those of the room behind the bay within the frontage, or else those within the bay, its side-walls being shown by this addition.² On this interpretation, the bay would be large enough to hold at least four columns.³ The bay is enclosed in front by a cushioned dwarf wall below the window-like opening, and this has a raised platform before it to which a slope ascends from a low newel-post (Plates xxxII, xxxvI). In front of the bay are placed four umbelliferous columns of a portico shading the window and its platform; they are not likely to be four deep, but a row of four, parallel with the frontage. They would probably be the height of the bay, and, if the upper cornice is that of the side-walls of the bay-window, the roof which these columns support is rightly shown as resting on this cornice.

The posts of the window are decorated with five panels. The upper one shows the hawk protecting the Rêc-name of the king; the second, the personal name guarded by the uraei of south and north; the third, the king as sphinx treading on an Asiatic (a Nubian on the south);<sup>4</sup> the fourth, three cartouches;<sup>5</sup> the fifth (in ink only; see Plate xxxvI), an adoring *rekhyt* bird on a *neb* sign. Below this is the traditional panelling. The balustrade of the window doubtless contained a design of captives.<sup>6</sup> All the cartouches, of the Aten, the king, and the queen, have been defaced more or less, with the exception of two Amenhotpé names of the king.<sup>7</sup>

The disk of the sun in the sky shows traces of plaster and was probably gilded, and a uraeus in stone or metal (very likely also gilded or coloured and with an \$\gamma\$ hanging from it) was attached to the face8 by an under-cut slot, which was roughly prolonged

<sup>2</sup> If the former, this cornice, too, would really be continuous.

<sup>4</sup> The face of the king as sphinx is as completely defaced as in the main scene, though it was in the old style and wearing the long beard.

<sup>5</sup> Of these cartouches the first had been sculptured and is erased. The ink sketch of the second was just being cut and is rudely defaced. The third now shows rough holes merely, and the queen's name is only betrayed by the variation in the feathers above the cartouche. No such differentiation occurs at El Amarna.

<sup>6</sup> Work here had been begun by the sinking of the background in one place, perhaps defining a central plant and the back of a captive.

7 The cartouches of Aten with the earlier form of his titulary, the Rêr-name of the king, and the name of the queen, are defaced most completely, but the word 'Aten' outside the cartouche is intact. The Amenophis cartouches were spared by the Atenists, as in Tombs 188 and 192, but the later iconoclast could not refrain from venting his hatred of the king by a stroke or two, and by the time he reached the right-hand lower cartouche his insults almost amounted to full defacement. The queen's name was in the short form  $\frac{1}{6} = \frac{1}{2} = 0$  determined by a figure wearing the high feathers, and with the addition 'living and flourishing'. This form lasted till the fourth or fifth year (stela K), although the longer name is shown on the Louvre block (perhaps from a temple of Aten at Thebes).

8 The face of the sun is here thought of as seen from in front, with the cobra hanging low on its brow. This and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The rays seem to postulate an unroofed structure, but the old type of throne-room with its box-cover roof within a palisade of uraei speaks for a ceiled structure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Or else the columns extended along the entire façade. This may seem unparalleled; but consult Davies, El Amarna v, Pl. v.

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upwards to allow this appendage to be slipped in. Of the sun's rays fourteen caress the king, four of which hold symbols of life and happiness, and two support his outstretched arm. One presents life to the nostril of the queen, one touches the double uraeus on her forehead, and another clasps her right upper arm. But all have been cut through by the conservatives to destroy their efficacy. A royal salute, 'May Aten live, rich in festal periods, lord of heaven and earth!' is added to the cartouches of Aten 'within Gem-paaten in the temple of Aten.'

The faces of the royal pair have been almost obliterated by chipping, but the profiles can be established.<sup>2</sup> Both are completely in the El Amarna style, though not to an exaggerated degree. Nefertiti, however, contrary to later practice, has been given a chin more hanging even than the king's. She displays a loose-sleeved mantle falling down in long ripples; it was the woman's dress of the time, but had not been admitted before in royal iconography. She wears a short wig, plain but for five rows of little ringlets round the face; one of her handmaids wears a similar one (Plate xxvII). The king, too, has adopted this mantle, but it is not seen again on him, though worn by later kings.<sup>3</sup> He has the long arched neck so characteristic of Akhenaten. He is in the attitude of address; what he is saying to Ramosé (Plate xxxvI)<sup>4</sup> is:

'[Said by] the king of Upper Egypt, living on truth, lord [of Egypt, Amenhotpé-neter-hek-wêsé] (may life be given him!) to the seigneur, the mayor-vizier, R. "... the matters I put in thy charge, the counsels (shr.w?)... one who guides (?) its events... which I have commanded (wd.ni st). All that existed in [the time?] before (?) thy (?) day (?)... more than the ... (of) the kings since the times of the god. It is a prescription (?)..."

Ramosé, entirely in the El Amarna style and attitude, stands before the window with hanging arms.<sup>5</sup> His reply is recorded:

'The Mouth [of Nekhen]..., the mayor-vizier, R. He says, "May [the] Aten [do] (irj p3 Itn) according to that which thou hast commanded...thy monuments shall be as lasting as heaven and thy life as long as (that of) Aten in it. May thy monuments increase like the increase of heaven. Thou art unique, one who... with his projects. The mountains present to thee what they have kept hidden; for thy loud voice gains on their hearts even as thy loud voice gains on the hearts of men; they obey thee even as men obey." '6

high relief often given to the disk suggest that the Egyptian could think of the sun as an orb. Against such an idea is the flat disk placed by sculptors on statues of solar deities. In the variant figures, too, of the disk with a uraeus on each side (as placed over the sphinx here) the idea of a disk, rather than of the side-view of a globe with its attached uraeus, must have been present, if the designer had any thought except that of a balanced design.

Gem-pa-aten ('The Aten is found') is evidently the name of the sanctuary in a Theban temple, hastily built to Aten or gained by taking over one dedicated to Rêr-Harakhti. I take Pa-Aten to denote Aten in his new significance.

<sup>2</sup> Pls. xxxIII, from careful tracings, and LIV. The hair of the queen reminds one of the coiffure of the Bisharin (Murray, Sons of Ishmael, Pl. xIX).

<sup>3</sup> But seen on his father (Schaefer, Kunst des Alten Orients, p. 332).

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4 Some signs which Peet accepted but I failed to detect are marked in the Plate by a little cross.

<sup>5</sup> For all these designs in ink cf. Mlle Baud, Dessins Ébauchés, Fig. 43 and Pls. XI-XIV; Capart, Documents, II, Pl. 68. <sup>6</sup> The reference is to the treasures which the foreigners bring from their mountainous lands, though in this case the gifts are not shown.

Ramosé turns from receiving the commands of the king to transmit them to other officials and to the ambassadors from abroad who stand facing the palace. Foremost are two men who may be high officials, and then nine other Egyptians.

The picture of the ambassadors is justly famed, being perhaps the finest example extant of Egyptian draughtsmanship. There is scarcely a single correction in these figures, two-thirds life-size. In places the red ink of a preliminary sketch is traceable, but usually it is covered by the final black one. The customary method of building up the figure on a network of squared lines no longer availed for these bowing men. Horizontal lines giving the height of the shoulder and the junction of the trunk with the legs are the only help (Plate xxxv).

The group, formally arranged in ranks of four, three, and one, represent four negroid Nubians with strong frontal bones, snub noses, and prominent lips (without verging on caricature, as in Tomb 40), two Semites with bushy hair and one with shaved skull, and a Libyan.<sup>2</sup> The facial type given to the latter is especially attractive, its finer features marking it off noticeably from the Hamitic and Semitic families. El Amarna design cannot be said to treat these dependent peoples any more tactfully than before, but here at least they stand as if free men, and indeed their straight backs give them greater dignity than the curved spines of the Egyptians.

Beyond this group another figure of Ramosé, whose back gets still more bent with practice, receives a bouquet from the staff of the temple of Aten, the shadowy form of which tails off in the distance to a blank space, though the end of the wall is far away still.<sup>3</sup> One sees high pylons and the low gateway between them. The doors are thrown open and the sun in heaven sends its rays down to bless or receive the offerings set there. The compliments exchanged between Ramosé and the priests are not recorded.

The upper half of the wall shows the honours conferred on Ramosé, whether on the occasion of the royal announcement of the new order, or without reference to any particular moment. The scene gives a particularly apt illustration of the cinematograph-like procedure of the artist, in that the vizier is shown in the act of prostration and again a moment later when he sits up on his heels to make his little speech, the two postures answering to the words of the description, 'doing homage' and 'giving praise' (Plate xxxiv).

'The seigneur, special companion, mayor-vizier, R. giving praise to the good god and homage to the lord of Egypt. He says "Thou dawnest, O Nefer-kheperu-rêc—Wac-en-rêc! Thou comest forth like thy father the living Aten. May he grant thee eternity as king(?) and endless life as a happy ruler."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pls. XXXIV-XXXVIII are from tracings which preserve the thickness of line, though not, of course, the variations in their strength. It is to be feared that this treasure is doomed to disappear in time. The wall is full of salt and, as this evaporates, it carries away the surface, so that already the lines, protected by the ink, stand out in slight relief. No treatment can avail, unless it be to cover the group with a sheet of glass hermetically sealed to the wall.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Note the different forms of the feathers on the heads of the Libyan and the Nubians corresponding to those on the cartouches of the king and queen (p. 32, note 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The temple also appears in the closely similar designs at El Amarna (Davies, El Amarna, VI, Pls. IV, XVIII, XX, XXIX).

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Another figure shows the grateful Ramosé being loaded with collars of gold beads, so many that his neck cannot contain them all, though others still have to find a place, as well as arm-rings of both sorts. Fragrant ointment has been taken from a bowl and piled on his head. Food (?) and dishes of precious metal await him. This lavish generosity of the king calls for further ejaculations from the recipient: 'R., seigneur, special companion (?), great favourite (?) of the lord of Egypt, says "May the Aten give [thee] health...", and again (to the crowd) '... [say] ye, "May the Aten refresh his heart (\( \) \( \)

Ramosé, loaded with these encouragements to loyalty,<sup>2</sup> turns round to show himself to a jubilant populace, who second the king's approval by a simple gift of flowers. The servants of the vizier indeed are displaying enough acquired wealth to win the plaudits of any crowd. This was the hour of Ramosé's triumph; whether the rest of his career was brief or prolonged is not known.

#### DECORATION OF ENTRANCES

PLATES III-V, XXVIII, XXXIX-XLII, LV

#### A. DOOR-FRAMINGS

Nothing of the façade remained except a scrap of the figure of Ramosé in sunk relief at the foot of the left jamb. It has been possible to add a valuable fragment of his shoulder (Plate XLIII, 88), showing the extreme fineness of the work on it. For the rest, many fragments of the prayers on the jambs and on the lintel have been found and have been given a place in the restoration of the door-framing (Plate III).<sup>3</sup> The work is incised and admirably carried out, the deeply sunk signs being filled with detail, though their forms are not quite first class.<sup>4</sup>

The fragments of the lintel show sunk blue signs on a yellow field. One would scarcely have expected colour on a frontage: can it be that the two column-bases found before the entrance reflect an original feature, and that a portico shaded the doorway? For the arrangement, see Plate XXVIII, I.

The jambs of the inner door-framing of the entrance only survive to two-thirds of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The thin dishes, at least, are so much specie, as one may gather from the crushed silver dishes in the treasure from Tûd (*Syria*, xVIII, p. 180, note 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Possibly he has gloves on his hands too, as in Davies, El Amarna, VI, Pl. xxx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See note, p. 14. The disinclination to throw away a mass of fragments leads one to a great waste of time, since one has rarely more than a tenth of the whole, and, unless the fragments come from the edge of an existing field or betray a rare text or scene, nothing of real value is likely to be gained. When jig-saw puzzles issue a challenge to one's wits, the prudent will get ready to run away.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The bee on Pl. XLII has details almost exactly those of a sign in the *reposoir* of Senwosret III at Karnak, although the stones were buried in the pylon of Amenophis III. Apparently Middle Kingdom signs were being copied. Though the signs here and on Pl. IV, as also in Tomb 57, are very attractive and meritorious, there is an incipient deterioration of style. I find that the sign § is the best criterion.

way up, and this with serious losses. The lintel was probably only occupied by khekers, or by a single line of text. What remains of the blessings sought from the five gods invoked on the right jamb (Plate XLI, 3) yields (1) '...brh (?) on earth in [the form?] of a heron'; (2) '... her ka, my name abiding in her temple for ever' (a goddess, then, is invoked); (3) '... arrival at the necropolis, like the followers of the great god'; (4) '... may he be satisfied with the offering-slab of the lord of To-joser daily'.

On the north (left) side (Plate XLI, 2) three of the gods invoked were Rêr-Harakhti, Anubis, and Hat-hor, and the blessings asked were: (1) '... [a sight of] his beauty, the making ... his rays shining on my breast'; (2) '... the fair west (?), to be summoned ... his food (?) in front of the hand of Onnophris daily'; (3) '... to drink ... on the altars, the opening of thy mouth, the making of thy purification, and the gift of thy inheritance by the god'; (4) '... in Rostau ... at his [pleasure] and that he be not repulsed from the gates of Rostau'; (5) '... of her care, and may his soul never be destroyed'. The texts, being inside the tomb, are in relief.

In the case of the door to the inner hall, the centre of the lintel fell away early by its own weight along a horizontal fault and brought away with it most of the surface of the jambs; so that, on the left side, there only remain a few titles of Ramosé (inserted in Plate XLI, I) and a relic of his seated figure at the foot. On the right jamb the figure is preserved, a beautiful piece of work: this is in relief, with the surrounding text incised. The three existing prayers on this jamb are addressed to Thoth, master of writings; Maet, hymner of Rêr; Anubis, president of the shrine of the god. The blessings sought from these gods are (I) 'that the ... be firm and in good state (rwd)', (2) 'that he rest in his place which he has made for himself in ...', (3) 'that his body may be in good state in the necropolis and not perish to all eternity'.

The central device on the lintel (Plate XXVIII, I) can be restored with fair certainty from similar lintels in Tomb 48. In the middle was the image of the sun's disk with the name of the indwelling god, Behedti, written on either hand. Below this would be two feather-crowned cartouches of Amenophis IV(?), placed on neb signs; for the remains show Horus- and Nebti-names on both sides. Perhaps the device of the unity of Egypt filled the space below. Ramosé presents to the king, thus represented by his titles, the statutory prayers to the gods. For aesthetic effect his figure is placed in the midst of the text. From the different gestures employed for the same act, it appears that the right arm is the one outstretched in address. The broken text on the left yields:

"A ritual offering to Rêr ..., a ritual offering to Geb, ... [to] the greater ennead and [the lesser] ennead, [to ... to] the southern [and northern] fanes, that they may give [an offering] of [all] things that grow ... all plants that are in them. They are doubly pure." (Said) by the seigneur, etc., R.'2

<sup>2</sup> So Piehl (Z.Ä.S. xxi, p. 129, d) who also adds title 20 in col. 2 and title 21 in col. 3. See Appendix, pp. 42, 43.

A fragment giving ks switi may come from here. The tablet of Ramosé at Sehel, which shows the same arrangement as the lintels in this tomb, has the two cartouches in the centre (Mariette, Mon. Divers, Pl. 70, 21).

#### DECORATION OF ENTRANCES

On the right is:

'[A ritual offering to] ... that they may give [a thousand of bread, etc.,], of linen, of incense, of various fruits, of green things (?).... [It is] the *iummetef* priest who purifies and Thoth who makes offering! Said by the seigneur, etc., R.'

The lintel is surmounted by a heavy cornice.

#### B. THE REVEALS

#### PLATES IV, V, XXXIX, XL

Only the lower part of the south thickness of the rock frontage to the tomb remains in place, and, if this relic has been supplemented in the plate by various fragments, their position is often very doubtful.

The salutation of the sun by the pair as they emerge from the tomb was no doubt in the usual form.

'[A salutation... by] the seigneur, etc., [R.... He says... "Thou] shinest  $(psd \cdot k)$  on the back  $(psd)^2$  of thy mother (Nut, the sky), manifesting thyself as king... the water of Desdes grows peaceful, the rebel is overthrown and his arms [severed]... thrown down at their block of execution. (As to) the gods, their hearts are joyous and Rêr is... extremely (?).... The gods of the south, the north, the west, the east, bring... adoring thee... thou being made bright....'

A short address to the god by Meryetptah has been lost.

The north wall of the entrance way has suffered still more. The absence of Meryetptaḥ, as on Plate XL, is due to the wish to leave that part of the wall blank which would be covered by the door when thrown open. Ramosé is 'entering with the favours of the good god to rest in³...'. What is left of the text behind the figure (incised to increase visibility in the shadow of the door) cannot be given any cohesion of thought: '... in all temples. I guided the temple income. I knew the mysteries of Heliopolis of upper Egypt. All the ... were in exultation; those under his rule were very joyous (?) ... he receives (?) the sistrums (?) and the whips (nbb?)....' Small fragments yield '... appearing as truth'; '[thou art...] in Dêt, stable before ...'; 'the king of my day'.4

The entrance to the uninscribed inner room is decorated in fine relief on both sides. On the south side Ramosé and Meryetptah, coming out from the recesses of the tomb, offer the daily salute to the sun-god (Plate xxxix).

'[Giving praise to Rêc-Ḥarakhti... by] the seigneur, etc., [R. He says] "Hail to thee Amen-Rêc-Atum-Ḥarakhti, lord of heaven and earth, who didst create those below and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dw is written for wd(n). Cf. Pl. xxI and p. 19.

The text is here interrupted by the raised panel in which the hole for the door-bolt was cut. For the forms of the block of signs before Ramosé, see Pls. XLII, LV. All the signs on Pl. XLII, except the bee, are from this wall.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> At this point there are remains of the plaster with which the later occupant covered parts, or the whole, of this wall. It still conceals some of the fine detail on the baton of Ramosé.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Does this phrase (so on pp. 16, 38) conceal an apprehension that the kingship was about to pass into the hands of another?

those above, universal lord, bull [of his mother, king(?)] of On, prince of Thebes,..., president of the two sanctuaries, holy entrant, dweller in the house of the Ben (bird), whom the gods (?) presented in wondrous wise (?), whom ... brought across the sky, who is exalted in Kheft-hir-nebes (Thebes), lord of mankind, father of the gods, sovereign of both Egypts, to whom the gods come with obeisance and the entire ennead with prostrations. [Heaven] is in praise, the stars acclaim him; those who are in [Dêt] make hymns and chants to him, all the earth is enthusiastic about his beauty, (he) the unique one without his peer, ... in awe of him, the spirits ... circle round ... the morning bark..."

Meryetptah, chantress of Amūn, joins in the act of reverence, 'adoring Rê, when he dawns on the mountains daily'.

On the north side Ramosé is returning alone (for lack of room, the space lying in the shadow of the opened door not being utilized). He gives two separate expressions of his feelings, one of gratefulness to the king for the gift of the tomb, the other a prayer to the gods of the underworld.

(1, 2) 'Speech by the seigneur, etc., R. (3) "I came in peace to my tomb (4) with the favour of the good god. I did (5) what was approved by the king of my day, for I neither minimized (6) the substance of what he enjoined, nor did I commit any (7) offence against the people, in order that I might (8) rest in my sepulchre on the great right-hand (the western part) of Thebes."

(9)<sup>3</sup> 'Speech by the seigneur, etc., R. "O all gods of Dêt and the divine council in the holy land (10), present me to the lord of eternity that I may adore him and offer my respect. Let me have ample room for doing homage with the great ones who are among thy (sic) followers. (11) May I receive food in the presence of their majesties, even the bread of Onnophris. Do (benefits) for me with a heart of continual love, even as I did (for you) on earth. I offered to the gods; I summoned (12) the whole Ennead (to a meal), being pure and cleansed, carrying food to the presence of Kametef. I supplied food for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt to whom Amūn shows his love in his temple, the queens, the royal children, the companions, and (13) whomever his ka approved: I did not forget to pronounce their names daily."

# THE CEILING, ARCHITRAVES, AND ABACI

Nothing from these sources remained in place, but the clearance of the tomb yielded some hundreds of fragments, mostly from these locations. They prove that the same care was given to the work there as elsewhere; but, as few of them fitted together, their apparent

I 'Imn seems to be an error of the restorer, unless it is to be rendered 'the hidden one.'

The first sign of the word  $\underline{b} \cdot t$ , '(on their) bellies', can be seen at the top of the column.

This second text, being still in half-shadow, is incised for better visibility (cf. p. 37).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> That is, by admitting their statues to his temple. This ideal of pious practice in the temple is very interesting. Notice the rank given to 'companions' as first after the royal family.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ☐ is an error apparently for 🔊 👊 🗓 .

# THE CEILING, ARCHITRAVES, AND ABACI

value dwindled to very little. I have assembled the larger pieces on Plate xLV, and they may give some idea of what was the subject of the texts on or near the ceiling and how the decoration there was carried out. The following explanations should suffice:—

No. I is a large piece of roof, probably from the north half of the easternmost of the cross-aisles, for this was probably the only one of them to be decorated, as being first met with on entering and the best lighted. The text on the left will be that on the western edge of this ceiling space, and that on the right will be from the central band, in column form, between the two (blank) panels, starting from the north architrave of the nave and reading from south to north. Both texts are incised and without colour: '... thou goest up to earth...' and '... thou sailest heaven and traversest...'. These uncoloured linear ceiling-texts would run twice the length of the tomb, minus the breadth of the nave. This is greater than twice the depth (east to west) as 8 is to 5, and this is almost exactly the proportion of fragments of uncoloured ceiling-texts to coloured ones. The number of surviving texts written in columns instead of in lines confirms the supposition that there was only one of these bands in each division of the ceiling, separating it into two long panels, patterned in the nave, blank in the easternmost cross-aisle.

Nos. 2–4. Three pieces show a junction of longitudinal and transverse texts. The latter will be the short ones which border the small side of the oblong panels of the ceiling. They have here the usual form, 'One acceptable (amakby) to such and such a god, the mayor-vizier, R.' As fragment 3 is coloured, it comes from the nave, the vertical text on it being from the short eastern border, north side. If the other text was in the form, 'Said [by the vizier, etc., R. "Hail to thee..."],' it gives the type of the two linear ceiling-texts in the nave. Nos. 2 and 4 show that the linear texts in the cross-aisle were of the other form, 'May the king give an offering to...'. No. 2 will be from the west border of the north half, south end, and No. 4 from the corner of the south half nearest to this (or vice versa

if they are eastern borders).

No. 5. This abacus has been replaced on the north side of one of the restored columns south of the nave, but wrongly; for the direction of the text shows that it came from a south face, and because inscribed abaci, as I think, were only placed on the eight columns of the nave. Fragments survive from at least three faces in coloured relief and four in uncoloured. There are pieces which show a coloured face adjoining an uncoloured one and three blank faces adjoining uncoloured ones. This means, I presume, that an abacus in the nave had a coloured text facing the aisle, an uncoloured one on the east side facing the entrance (possibly also on the west side), and a blank one in the rear. That is to say, when the face of an abacus was visible to one entering and passing down the nave, it was inscribed; if actually in the nave, it was also coloured, but only then. The same holds good for ceilings and architraves. Had the decoration been more extensive than this, a larger number of fragments would have been preserved. No. 5 is from the south side of a northern column. Nos. 6 and 7 from the north side of a southern column in the nave. No. 9 (coloured) is from the south face of one of the four northern columns of the nave. Plate xLV, on which this is shown, will enable an impression to be got of the brightness which had been secured

I term the east to west aisle from outer to inner door, the 'nave', and the five aisles at right angles to this, 'cross-aisles'.

in the upper part of the nave. On this plate abacus and architrave are at their proper distances, but the patterned ceiling would, of course, be at right angles to the plane of the former. The lower texts have been slightly supplemented.

Nos. 10 to 21 are fragments in relief of the coloured side of the architraves of the nave, reading therefore in both directions. Nos. 22 to 28 I found in a dump from Sir Robert's excavations housed in Tomb 224; some, perhaps all, are from our tomb and are uncoloured

fragments of lateral ceiling-texts (from the side borders of panels).

Nos. 29 to 43 are from the central band of the ceiling of the nave between the two patterned panels, and are painted blue on a yellow ground. Nos. 44 to 59, in uncoloured incised work, are from the central band of the easternmost cross-aisles, the only other ceiling space, as I suppose, to receive decoration. The panels on both sides of the band were left blank.

Nos. 60 to 67 are coloured and from the lateral texts of the ceiling of the nave (see Plate XLV for another). Nos. 68 to 78 (like 22 to 28) are uncoloured lateral texts from the ceiling of the decorated cross-aisle, the beginnings of the two halves being, as I suppose, on fragments 2 and 4.2 Nos. 79 to 87, uncoloured relief of large size, are from the architrave of the same aisle (broken by the architraves and ceiling of the nave).

No. 88 has been spoken of on p. 35. Twice as many fragments as are here given, but smaller, were drawn to scale; but, as they did not fit on to any others, they are withheld as very unlikely to prove of use. The drawings are to a scale of one-fifteenth, but

Nos. 5–21, 29–43 are to one-tenth.

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

It is always difficult to assess the merit of the work in a sculptured tomb where the lighting or the absence of stain and mutilation are conditions which affect one's judgement imperceptibly. A general survey of the imposing figures cut in the clean walls of the tomb of Ramosé, their good condition, and the technical mastery with which their graceful lines are executed, will incline one to the judgement that they approach the high-water mark of Egyptian sculpture in low relief under the New Kingdom. Closer consideration may accord the palm to the more varied and attractive scenes in the contemporary tomb of Khâemhêt, judging that the large scale of the work in our tomb has induced a certain coarseness and lack of finish. It is certainly not without blemishes.

The most obvious of these is the treatment of the eyes, which, by a peculiar exception, are made to depend on colour instead of form. Their hard black outlines stand out strongly from the soft and quiet reliefs, giving a quaint vivacity to the faces, which has some attractiveness when time has removed a little of their harshness (Plate XLVI), but repels where they retain their original force (Plate XLVII, I). On the other hand, when these lines are almost or wholly lost, the brightness they gave is turned to an offensive sightlessness

<sup>2</sup> No. 73 has already been given on No. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This pattern seems to be the only one used in the tomb. Prisse (L'Art égyptien, Pl. 30, 2) shows an elaborate pattern which he avers (Texte, p. 367) comes from a niche in our tomb. This must be an error.

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

(Plate XLVII, 2), and we rightly judge that so evanescent an effect is not one that ought to have been tolerated by a sculptor. He has been caught here in a moment of indecision, feeling, as well he might, dissatisfaction with the traditional full-sized eye with its lids neatly outlined to an accepted shape. But he was incapable of substituting a better convention, least of all one that contained an approach to a side view. In the end he made a weak and ugly compromise by resorting to a crude painted line, and only gave it a small measure of realism by drawing it on an eye roughly moulded in relief. When the black outline was lost, this lifeless oval protuberance remained (Plates XLVIII, I; LII, 2), and it says much for the perfection of the line and modelling of the faces that they almost permit us to overlook the blind sockets of the eyes.<sup>1</sup>

I have alluded elsewhere (pp. 27, 30) to the clumsy handling of the plaster with which the irregularities of the stone were filled, especially on the back wall. There, too, the levelling of the background is at times very faulty (see Plate LI) and there is some lack of fine finish and smoothness. In work which depends for its effect on technical perfection such blemishes ought to have been banned.

If the work of the sculptor is not beyond reproach in these respects, the ink line of the draughtsman is unrivalled, and though it is mainly preserved to us in the revolutionary addition, there is sufficient evidence elsewhere (Plate L, I) that the previous work was by the same hand or by one as skilled. Indeed, one of the admirable features of the tomb is that the sculptor followed so closely and interpreted so well with his chisel the sure and graceful lines of his coadjutor. In the best work, the heads on the east wall and the large figures and the script in the two doorways, the craftsmanship comes near to perfection. Everything is stereotyped but nothing is common, so well is it executed. The full wigs, with their mass of converging and diminishing ripples, are a test for eye and hand, but the chisel has not once faltered or failed.2 So, too, when the artist was forced to abandon the forms which he had been drilled through a lifetime to follow, scarcely one errant or experimental line can be discovered in his work. The thick black lines, even and true, by which figures almost life-size were thrown on to a surface far from smooth, are a pleasure to study, especially on the spot, where the human and personal origin is so much more strongly felt. There are so few things in the ancient world for which one has not to make allowances.

<sup>2</sup> I am painfully aware that my pen, working to a small scale, has often failed in this mechanical correctness.

In some cases a better shape has been given to the modelled basis for the eye by making a ridge to the upper lid, and further progress is made in indecision when the outline begins to be incised (Pl. xVIII), or when it is completed in the ordinary way (Frontispiece). Every variation is shown, from occasions when the painted line is wholly relied on (Pl. xLVIII, 2), through cases where it is imposed on fairly careful or very crude modelling, up to the orthodox procedure (Pl. LV, 4). Where the ink is lost the line plates have often had to omit the eye altogether (Pls. xVI, xVII). The sculptor was no doubt aware how little his work would contribute to the final effect when the face was painted. This ugly eye persists into the later designs (Pl. xxXII), and the eye is still a weak feature at El Amarna.

#### **APPENDIX**

# TITLES GIVEN TO RAMOSÉ AND HIS RELATIONS

#### RAMOSÉ

Any list of his titles generally opens with the two associated ones which I render by 'Seigneur', an appellation of all high officials, and closes with the two which mark his real place in the bureaucracy, 'Mayor of the town (the capital)' and 'Vizier'. These form the polite prefix to his name, but 'vizier' simply can be so used.

Honorific		Plate
1. 2	'Seigneur'	Passim
2. 9	'Beloved father of the god' (the king)	XIX; XXXIX; XL; XLI, 1, 2, 3
3. 11-←	'Special companion' (Privy Councillor)	III; XXXIV; XXVIII, 1
4. 111 \( \overline{\pi} \)	'Greatly loved companion'	XVIII
5. <b>K</b> I	'Chancellor of the north'	III; XXVIII, 1; XL; XLI,
Administrative		1, 3
6. 78	'Mayor of the city'	Passim
7. \$5	'Vizier'	Passim
8. Thin	'Superintendent of documents'	XIX
9. 749-000 \$	'Superintendent of works on great monu- ments'	XVII; XIX*; XXVIII, 1; XLI, 1, 3*
10. 🚊 🗀 🖟 🛇 🖟 🗞	'Administrator of South and North Egypt'	_
II. TO A SO	'A mouth that gives satisfaction in the whole land'	
12. PR 5 5 5	'Regent of the whole land'	IX; XIX; XXII; XLI, 3
Judicial		
13. 7	'Judge'	XIX
14. m	'Judge of the High Court'	XL; XLI, 2
15. ~	'Mouth of (the town of) Nekhen'	IV (气管); XIII, 1*; XVIII; XXV; XXX; XXXI; XLI, 2
16. III	'Priest of Justice'	XIII, 1; XVIII; XXV; XXX; XXXI; XL
17. <b>7 V</b>	'Judge in the decision of business affairs'	IV; XLI, 1
18. VB	'Dispensing justice'	XXVIII, 1
19. VINA	'Dispensing justice daily and presenting it to the palace of her lord'	XVIII
20.	'One who does right and hates wrong'	XXVIII, 1
I The least sometime is a second	-1 11 D: 11: 7 7 C	

# APPENDIX

Sacerdotal		Plate
21. ~ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ♦ ♦ ♦	'Overseer of the priests of South and North Egypt'	IX; XXVIII, 1 (Piehl); XLI, 1
22.	'Overseer of the temples of all the gods'	XLI, 1*; XLI, 3
23.	'Greatest of seers'	Ш
24.	'Over the secrets of sacred writ'	XLI, 3
25. 🖟 📆 📆 📆 📆	'Leader in offerings to the god'	V
26. = 1 L	'Over the secrets of the two serpent god- desses'	IX; XIX
27.	'Knowing the mysteries of all the gods'	XLI, 1
28. ♦ ₩   8 # 8	'Knowing the mysteries of South On'	V
29. ♣(்) ☆ ★☆	'Knowing (?) the secrets of the underworld'	XLI, 1
30.	'Entering into the secrets of heaven and earth'	XXXIX
31.	'Sem priest'	XXXIX; XL; XLI, 1
32. Paris	'Directing all officials' (lit. 'all šndyt skirts') <sup>2</sup>	XXXIX*; XL*; XLI, 3
Relations to the king		
33. AND	'Having the approach to his lord' <sup>3</sup>	III; XXVIII, 1
34. [2] DA -	'[Eyes of] Horus in his house'	XXVIII, 1
35. [ [ ] [ ] ~	'Carrying out his monuments worthily'	XLI, 2
36. ♥ネ♥□[□]	'Having the full confidence of the lord [of Egypt]	III
37. ≒∓	'Over the secrets of the house of the king'	III; XL
38. <b>112</b>	'Firm in favour with the lord of Egypt'	XXI
39. \$\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\	'Whom the lord of Egypt loved for his virtues'	XXVIII, 1
40. MT	'Praised and loved by the lord of Egypt'	XVII*; XXVI
41. 1997	'Praised by the good god'	XXVII; XLIII, 5, 6
42.	'Entering and leaving the castle in favour'	XXVIII, 1
Relations to the bureaucracy		
43 75- 211-	'Giver of guiding rules to the aristocracy'	XLI, 1, 3
44. \$[\$"]	'Greatest [of the great]'4	XLI, 2
45. Mm(?) [ [ [ ] ]	'Leader (?) of the companions'	XLI, 2
Relations to the people		
46.	'Men are satisfied with what issues from his lips'	XXVIII, 1
47. 二瓜[丁]鱼一丝门	'One who is on the lips (?) of the people'	XLI, 1
48. The Color of the Area of t	'One who appeases the heart (?) of mortals'	XLI, 1
49.	'An official at the head of the people'	XIX
50. [†=]===	'[One who inquires into the affairs] of this land'	III5
	-	

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps with an addition.

4 Cf. man on his pottery cones. <sup>3</sup> This title is associated with No. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The title is placed in this category because it is generally associated with No. 31, though it is more than doubtful if it refers exclusively to temple officials (cf. p. 16 and Pl. XII). In Pl. XII it precedes No. 30.

# **APPENDIX**

NEBY, father	Plate		
<ol> <li>'Superint</li> <li>'Superint</li> <li>'Scribe'</li> </ol>	X, XI, XVI XI, XVI XI, XVI		
AMENHOTE	PÉ, son of Heby and cousin (?) of Ramosé²		
1. * 'Seigner 2. * 'Chief of 3. * 'Great s 4. 'Superint 5. * 'True s 6. * 'Having 7. 'Praised an 8. 'Whom tl 9. 'Whose ra 10. * 'Superint	companion of the lord of Egypt' teward of the king in the Memphite nome' endent of all crafts of the king'3 cribe of the king, beloved by him' the confidence (mḥ ib) of the Good God' and loved by the lord of Egypt' he king set higher than those who were greater than he' ank was created by his abilities' htendent of the double house of silver and gold'	IX, XI, XII, XIX IX IX, XI, XII*, XIX XI, XII* IX, XI, XII, XIX XI, IX*, XII* IX, XII, XIX* XII XII XII XII, XIX XII	
	11. * 'Leader of the festival of all the gods in the Memphite nome' 12. 'Whose virtues preserved the love of the Sovereign'		
AMENHOTE  1. 'A compa  2. 'An officia  3. 'Administ	É (son of Hapu?) nion, first of the companions' l at the head [of the populace]' trator of South and North Egypt' (title 10 of Ramosé) ndent of recruits'4	IX	
<ol> <li>'[Prince b</li> <li>'Iunmetef p</li> <li>'Sem priest</li> </ol>		IX	
WOMEN			
Meryetptaḥ	'Chantress of Amūn' 'Ornament of the king' 'Favourite of (Mut or Hat-hor)'	Passim Passim X	
Apuya Maÿ Werel	'Favourite of Hat-hor'  'Chantress of Amūn'  'Favourite of the lady of Egypt'  'Favourite ("musician") of Mut. ladv of Asher'	XI XI, XIX, XII XII	
	'Favourite ("musician"?) of Mut, lady of Asher'	VIII	
MAŸ  1. 'Superinte	ndent of the horses of the lord of Egypt'	VIII	

- 2. 'Messenger of the king throughout all lands'
- 3. 'Having the full confidence of the Sovereign'
- 4. 'Firm in the favour of the lord of Egypt'
- <sup>1</sup> This title is held for the whole land by Amenhotpé, son of Heby.
- <sup>2</sup> An asterisk to a title marks one given him in other sources. When applied to a plate it marks a slight variant.
- <sup>3</sup> 'In the temple of Chnemet-Ptaḥ' is added elsewhere.
- <sup>4</sup> The son of Hapu is elsewhere styled 'scribe of recruits'. The two titles are probably to be equated.

Abaci, 9, 10, 39. 'Administrator of both Egypts', 2, 15, 42. Akhenaten, 1, 3, 4-6, 11, 27, 29, 31-3. Akhetaten (see El Amarna). Amarna (see El Amarna). Ambassadors, 1, 6, 34. Amenemoné, 26. Amenhotpé A, son of Heby, 1-3, 15-19, 44. Amenhotpé B, son of Hapu, 2, 3, 7, 15, 44. Amenhotpé, vizier, 1. Amenophis II, 28. Amenophis III, 1-4, 7, 14, 27, 35. Amenophis IV, 1, 3, 4, 27, 29, 33, 36. Amulets, 20, 27. Anubis, 14, 21, 36. Apuya, mother of R., 16, 18, 44. Architraves, 5, 9, 10, 39, 40. Art, considerations of, 1, 4, 7, 10. Asiatics (Semites), 28, 32, 34. Asperging with milk, 23. Aten (sun-disk), 4-6, 11, 29, 31-5. -, temple of, 11, 33, 34. Atenists, 4, 24, 27, 32. Athribis, 2. Attitudes, unusual, 25, 26. Atu, mother of Amenhotpé A, 3. Atum, the god, 13, 14, 37.

Balsam, 14, 19. Baraize, M., 6. Barber, 26. Bark of the dead, 23. ——— sun, 13, 14, 16, 38. Bay of palace, 32. Bee, 35, 37. Behedti, the god, 36. Bekenamün, 15, 17. Ben bird, 38. Bigeh, 1. Birth, purification as renewed, 20. Blank spaces, 4, 7, 37-9, 40. Blemishes in decoration, 40, 41. Bolt of door, 8, 37. Borchardt, 27. Bouquets, 14, 29, 30, 34, 35. Bouriant, 6. Brick, work in, 5. Bricks, ritual, 11. Broom used in ritual, 20. 'Brother', vagueness of term, 2, 3. Bureaucracy, 24, 26.

Burial chambers, 6, 7, 11, 12, 26.

— furniture, 22, 25.

— loculus, 12.

—, scenes of, 10, 21, 22.

— shafts, 12.

Butchers, 13, 15, 26.

Callender, A. R., 6. Cape of reed, 24. Captives, 28, 32. Cat, 17. Cattle, 16, 23, 44. Ceiling, 10-12, 32, 38-40. 'Chancellor of the god', 19, 20. Changes in design, 4, 10, 27, 30, 41. 'Chantress of Amūn', 2, 3, 15, 17, 38, 44, 45. Chest of man regarded as a box, 18. Cobra (see also Uraeus), 29, 31. Coffin, 12, 22, 24, 25. Colour, use of, 10, 22, 24, 25, 32, 35, 39, 40. Columns, 5-10, 32, 35, 39. — palm-, 7, 32. 'Companion', 16, 26, 38, 42-4. Cones, funerary, 1, 8, 17, 22, 43. — of fat, 13. - of pomade, 24, 26, 35. 'Constable', 31. Courtyard of the tomb, 5, 7. 'Cousin' as an indistinct term, 2, 3, 44.

Dates of events, 1, 3, 4, 11, 30.

Delta (North Egypt), 3, 44.

Desdes, water of, 37.

Dēt (see also Underworld), 14, 37, 38.

Direction of text, unusual, 20.

Doors, 8, 10.

Doorways, 11, 22, 26.

Dress of men, 20, 24, 26, 33, 35.

— of women, 18, 24, 33.

Drioton, M., vi.

Dunâwi, the god, 24.

Dust in sign of mourning, 24, 25.

Ear-rings, 31.
Earth movements, 7.
Effacement by plaster, 5, 37.
El Amarna (Amarna), 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 30–5, 41.
Emery, W. B., v, 6, 8, 27.
Ennead, 26, 36, 38.
Erasure, 1, 4, 5, 21, 27, 32, 33.
Eyes, mode of drawing, 40, 41.

Façade, 7, 8, 10, 22, 32, 35.
False doors, 22, 26.
Fan-bearers, 28, 31.
Fanes of North and South, 36.
'Father of the god', 19, 22, 42.
Feathers, two forms of, 32, 34.
Festal dress, 20, 26.
Fly-flaps of Hat-hor, 20, 37.
Fragments, 6, 8, 9, 14, 35, 37, 38-40.

Gardiner, Dr. A. H., vi, 18.
Gates of underworld, 22.
Geb, the god, 21, 24, 36, 44.
Gem-pa-aten, sanctuary of, 11, 33.
Gentry (p, t), 23.
Gloves (?), 35.
Gods of the four quarters, 13, 37.
Gold collars, 20, 35.
Goose as pet, 4, 15, 18.
'Great one of the god', 24.
'Great place', the, 14.
'Great place', the, 16.
Gums, 14, 17, 18.

Hair, mode of wearing, 2, 15, 33. Hall, the outer, 8, 9, 11, 12. —, the inner, 8–11, 36, 37. Hamitic terms of relationship, 2. Hapu, father of Amenhotpé A, 3, 15. Hat-hor, the goddess, 14, 20, 22, 28, 36, 44. Hawk, the divine, 29, 32. Heby, father of Amenhotpé B, 2, 3, 15, 44. Herald, chief, 26. -, second, 26. Hermopolis, 24. Heron, 36. Heseket ointment, 18. Hesenamün, 25. Heskebptah, 26. Hesybeknef, 25. Heturkau, town of, 24. Hieratic, 14. Hieroglyphs ('signs'), 5, 31, 35, 37. High relief, 31, 33. Horses, 17, 45. Horus, 21, 24, 29, 43. Horus-name of Amenophis IV, 27, 36.

Ialu, fields of, 23.

'Imy-is officiant, 20.

Incised work, 8, 10, 23, 35–40.

Ink, designs in, 1, 4, 10, 13, 14, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32–4, 41.

Ipy, son of Amenhotpé B, 2, 3.

Iry, 13.

Isis, the goddess, 21, 22, 24.

Iwnmetef priest, 4, 19, 37, 44.

Judge ('Esq.'), 3, 42.

Ka perch, 18. Kametef, 38. Karnak, 8, 15, 16, 29, 35. 'Keeper of poultry', 25. Ķenemsau, 25. Keshy, 17. Khons, the god, 29. Khonshotpé (sic), 29. King, throne-consort of, 28. -, statue of, 29. -, suite of, 31. Khâemhêt (see Tomb 57). Kheft-hir-nebes, 38. Khepera, 13, 26. Kites, divine, 22, 24. Kush, king's son of, 26.

Lectors, 19, 20, 23-5. Levels in the tomb, 7-11. Libyans, 28, 34. Lighting of the tomb, 6, 10.

Mackay, E. J., v. Maet ('Truth', 'Justice'), 4, 25-9, 36, 42. -, wêb priest of, 19. Magic tools, 24. Mahu, 25. Malkata, palace of, 7, 32. Manu, mountain of, 14. Maspero, 6. Mauls, 7, 12. Maÿ, wife of Amenhotpé B, 1, 3, 17–19, 45. — (official), 17, 44. Memphis, 1-3, 15, 16, 30. Men, 26. Menyets, 20, 21. Meryetptah, wife of R., 1, 3, 13-19, 21, 24, 37, 38, 44. 'Messenger of the king', 17, 45. Metropolitan Museum, vi, x, 6. Middle Kingdom models, 35. Military titles, 17. Milk for purifying, 23. Monkey, 18. Monotheism, limits of, 3. Mourning women, 1, 24, 25. Mut, the goddess, 4, 15, 17, 29, 44, 45. Muttuy, 26.

Nakht, vizier, 1, 3.

Nakht-pa-aten, vizier (?), 1.

Natron, symbol for, 20.

Nave, special treatment of, 8, 9, 11, 39, 40.

Nebmehyet, 13.

Nebti name, 36.

Nefertiti (see also Queen), 11, 33.

Nekhbet, the goddess, 28.

Nelson, Dr. H., vi.

Nephthys, the goddess, 22, 24.

Neter, town of, 23.

Nile as symbol, 21.

'Nine bows', the, 28.

Nubians, 28, 32, 34.

Nut, the goddess, 21.

Obliteration by wash, 22. Officials, 16, 31, 34, 43, 44. Officiants, 19, 20, 22. —, female, 20, 24. Ointments ('oils'), sacred, 17, 25. Old-fashioned dress shown, 18. On (Heliopolis), 14, 37, 38, 43. Onnophris, 17, 19, 21, 36, 38. 'Ornament of the king', 1, 15, 44. Osiris, 14, 19, 21, 24. Overseer ('Superintendent') of crafts, 44. — of documents, 42. - of the granary, 44. — of the harem, 31. - of priests, 43. - of recruits, 2, 15, 44. — of the temples, 43. — of the treasury, 26.

Pawaḥy, 17, 19.
Panels of ceiling patterns, 39, 40.
Peet, Prof., v, 15, 18, 21, 30.
Peḥefemnufer, 26.
Personification of symbols, 28.
Piehl, 21, 36, 42.
Platform reserved for family, 19.
Pools, sacred, 23.
Priests of Amūn, four, 24.
Proletariate (rhy·t), 23.
Purification, 19, 20, 24, 25.

- of works, 42.

Quails, 14. Queen (Nefertiti), 5, 11, 31-3.

Ramesside period, 5, 7, 13, 21, 24.
Ramosé, career of, 1, 4.

—, relatives of, 1, 2, 5, 12, 16–18, 24.

—, servants of, 13, 15, 17, 25, 35.

—, titles of, 42–4.

Rêc, the sun-god, 8, 36–8.

—, members of, 13, 14.

Rêc-Harakhti, 4, 13, 14, 29, 33, 36, 37.

Rekhyt birds, 32.
Religion, Egyptian, 3, 4.
Repetition of figures, 28, 34.
Restorations, ancient, 4, 5, 13, 38.

—, modern, 6, 8, 9, 22, 35.
Revolution, suddenness of, 30, 31.
Reward of Ramosé, 28, 34.
Rite of inhaling perfume, 18.

— of offering joints, 24.

— of sweeping up after meals, 20.
Ritual offerings, 15, 16, 19, 24, 36, 37, 39.

Sâḥ, 19. Salves, 14, 17, 18. Scarab as amulet, 27. 'Scribe of cattle', 26. 'Scribe of recruits', 2, 44. Sed festival, 29. Sehel, 1, 36. Sem priest, 4, 20, 43, 44. Semer officiant, 20. Serpent goddesses, 43. 'Servant of the vizier', 25, 26. Service des Antiquités, vi, 6. Seshat, the goddess, 28. Set, the god, 24. Shendyt skirts, 43. Siamun (Simut?), 24. Singers, 14. Sistrum, presentation of, 20, 21, 37. Skin robe of priests, 16, 19, 23, 24. Smell as divine indwelling, 18. Smither, Mr. P., vi. 'Son', vagueness of the term, 2. Sokaris, 24. Sphinx, 32. Squares, network of, 13, 27-30, 34. Statues, 11, 12, 38. 'Steward of the vizier', 15. Stuart, Villiers, 6, 12, 27-9. Superintendent (see Overseer). Surer (see Tomb 48). Symbolic staffs, 28, 29.

Underworld (see also Det), 22, 23, 26, 38, 43, 44. -, doors of, 22, 26.

Unfinished work, 29-31. Uraei (see also Cobra), 31-3.

Usurpation of the tomb, 5, 8, 9.

Viziers, 1, 3, 7.

Von Bissing, Freiherr, 27.

'Warden of the women', 31. Weigall, A. E., v, 6.

Werel, wife of Maÿ, 17, 45. Wigs, 16, 33, 41.

Window of palace, 10, 31, 32.

Winlock, Dr. H. E., 8.

Work, high level of, 13, 15, 30, 35, 40, 41.

— of draughtsmen, 10, 13, 29, 35, 40, 41.

— of quarriers, 4, 7, 10–12, 18, 27, 30.

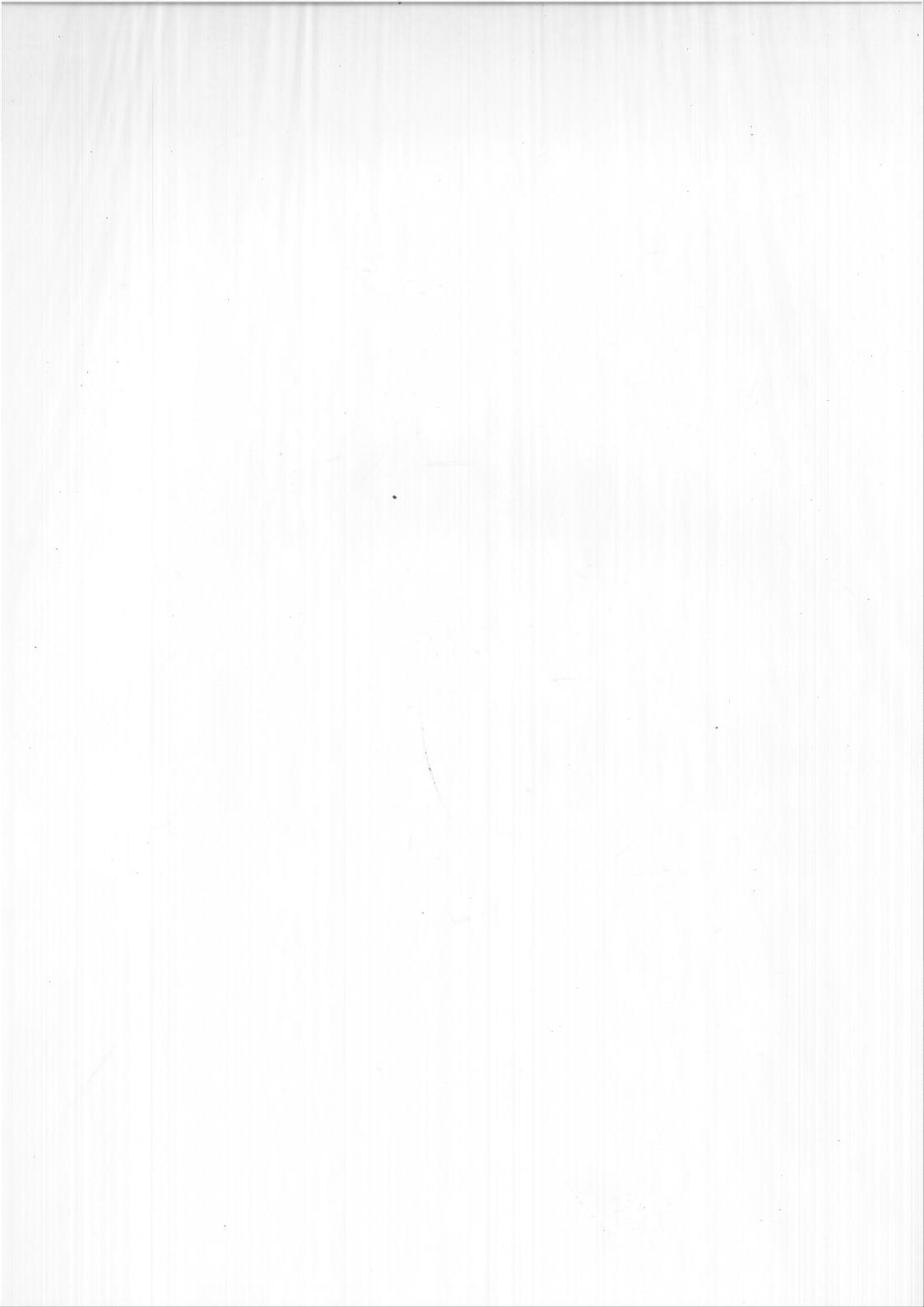
— of sculptors, 10, 11, 29–31, 41.

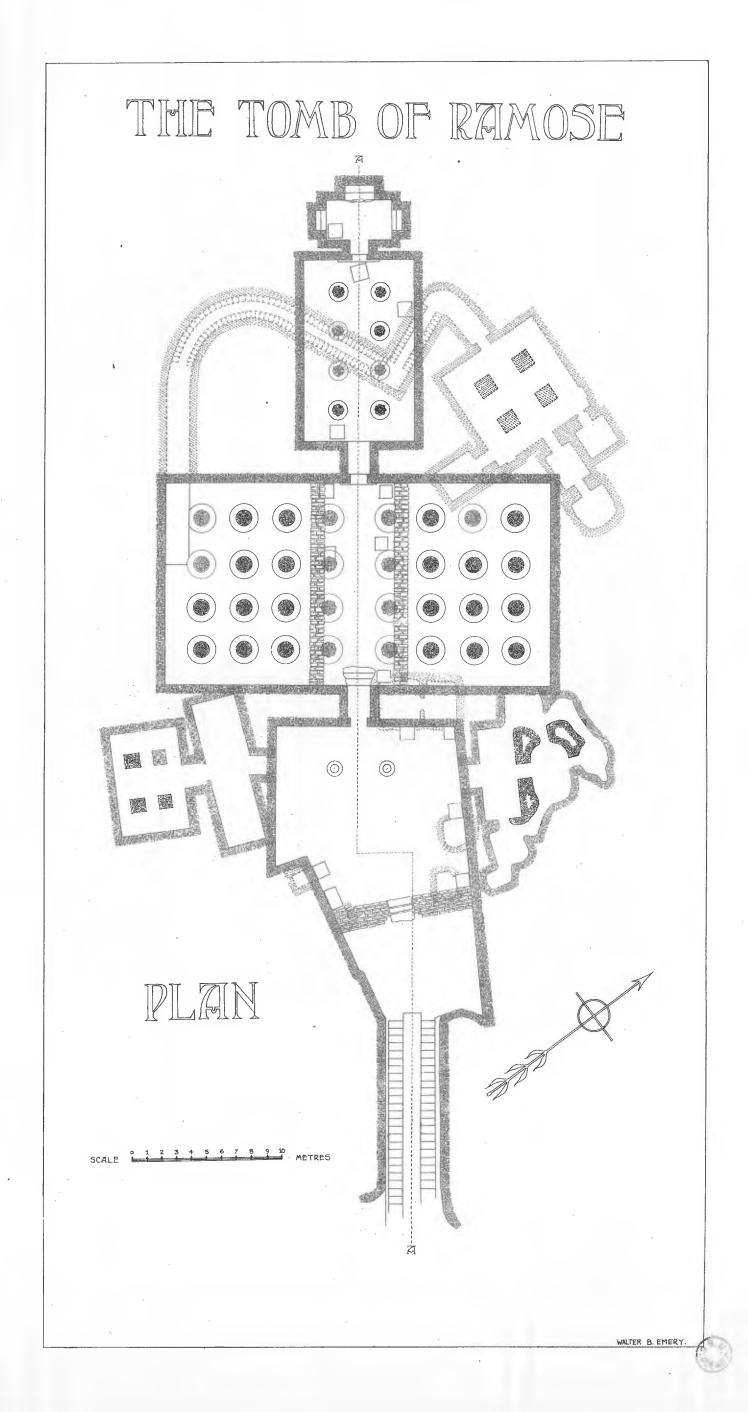
Years, sign for, 28.

# THEBAN TOMBS CITED

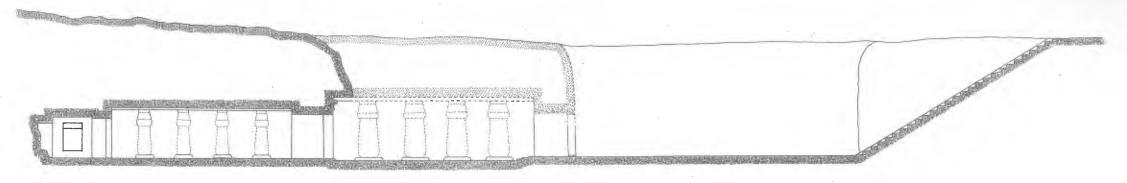
Tomb	Page	Tomb	Page	Tomb	Dana
18	15	69 (Menna)	21		Page
29	42	71 (Senmut)	22	125 127	23
31 (Khons)	7	72	28	155	15
36	2.2	73	8	159	22
39	20	82	11, 20, 22, 23	178	22
40 (Huy)	34	86	20	181	22 .
41	22	93 (Kenamūn)	11, 22, 28	188	29, 32
47	28	96	II	192	32
48 (Surer)	7-9, 28, 36	100 (Rekhmirēr)	15, 20, 22, 26	226	28
49	20, 22	106	28	252 (Senmen)	22
57 (Khāemhēt)	7, 21, 28, 35, 40	109	20	276	2.2
63	21	112	15, 23	284	2.2
67	8	120	28	331	5

# PLATES

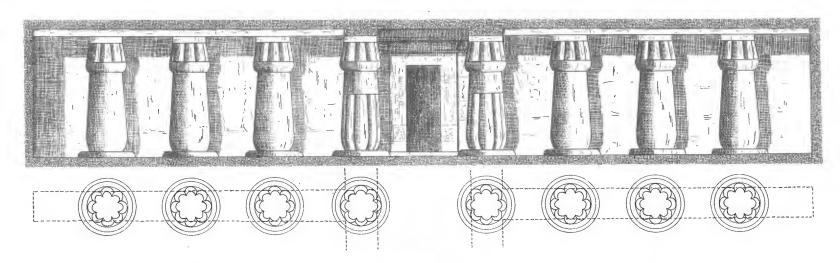




# THE TOMB OF RAMOSE

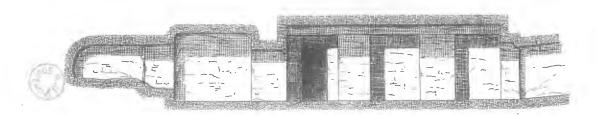


SECTION ON A.A

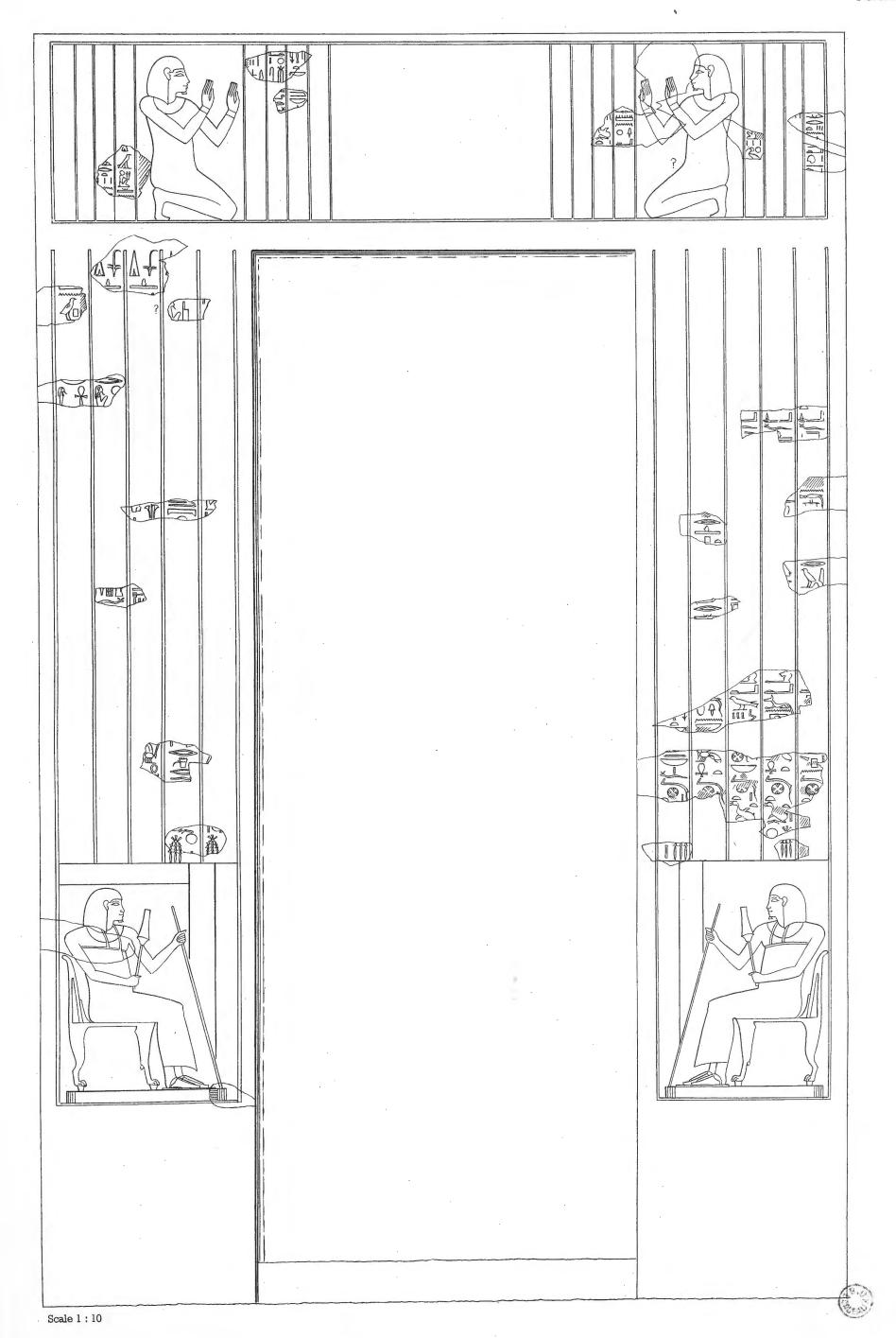


SECTION OF RESTORED MYPOSTYLE MALL

SCALE 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES



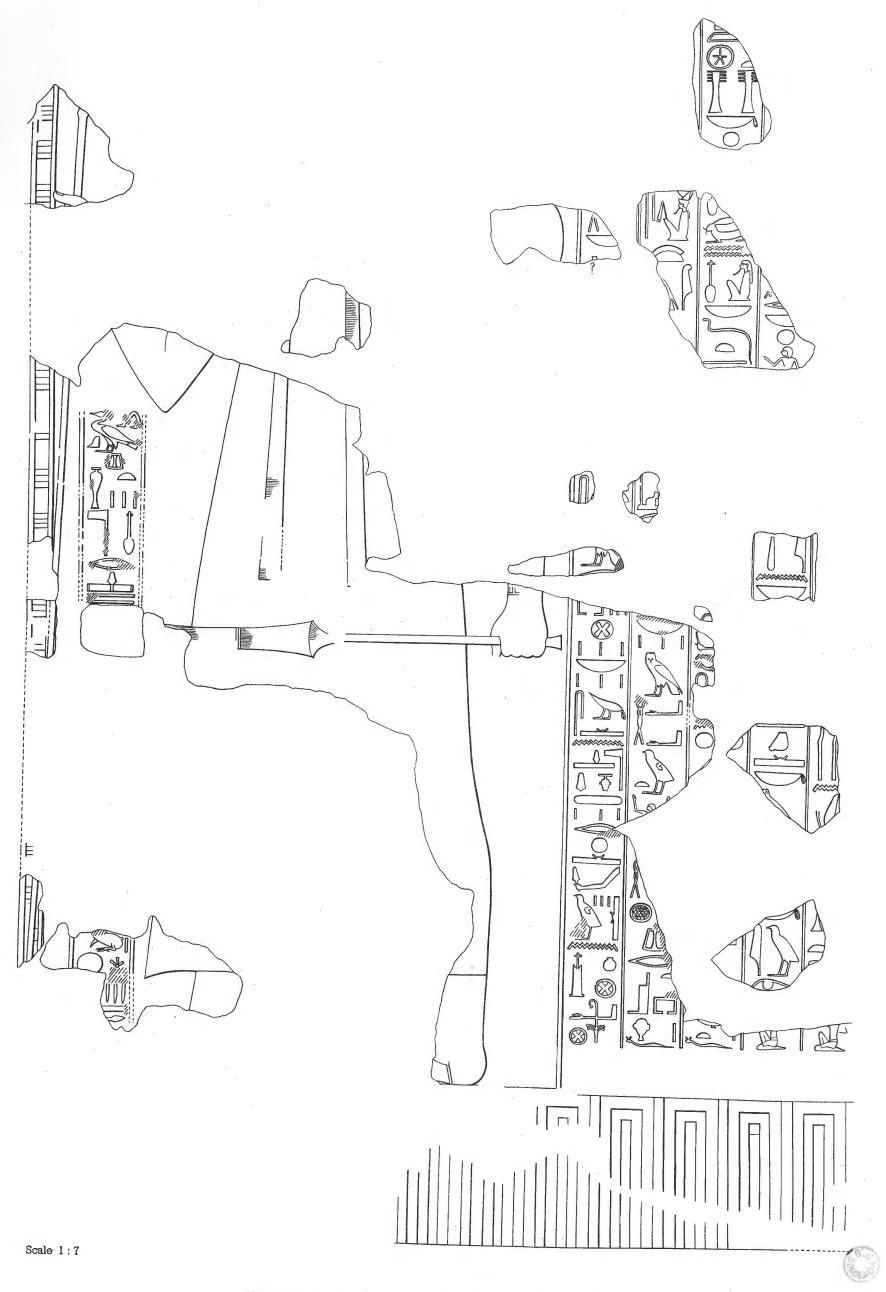
SECTION OF BURIAL CHAMBERS



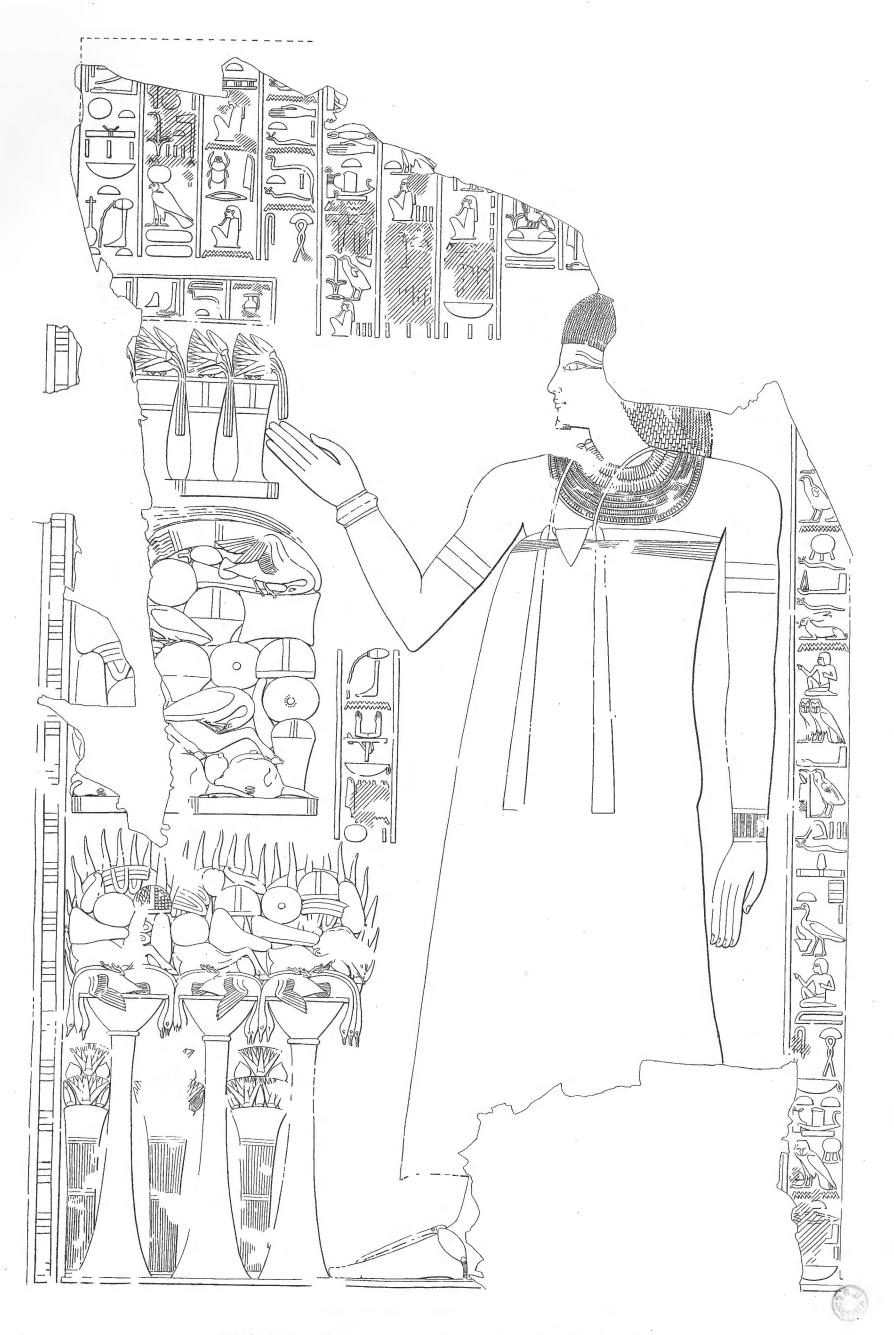
EXTERIOR. RESTORED DOORWAY



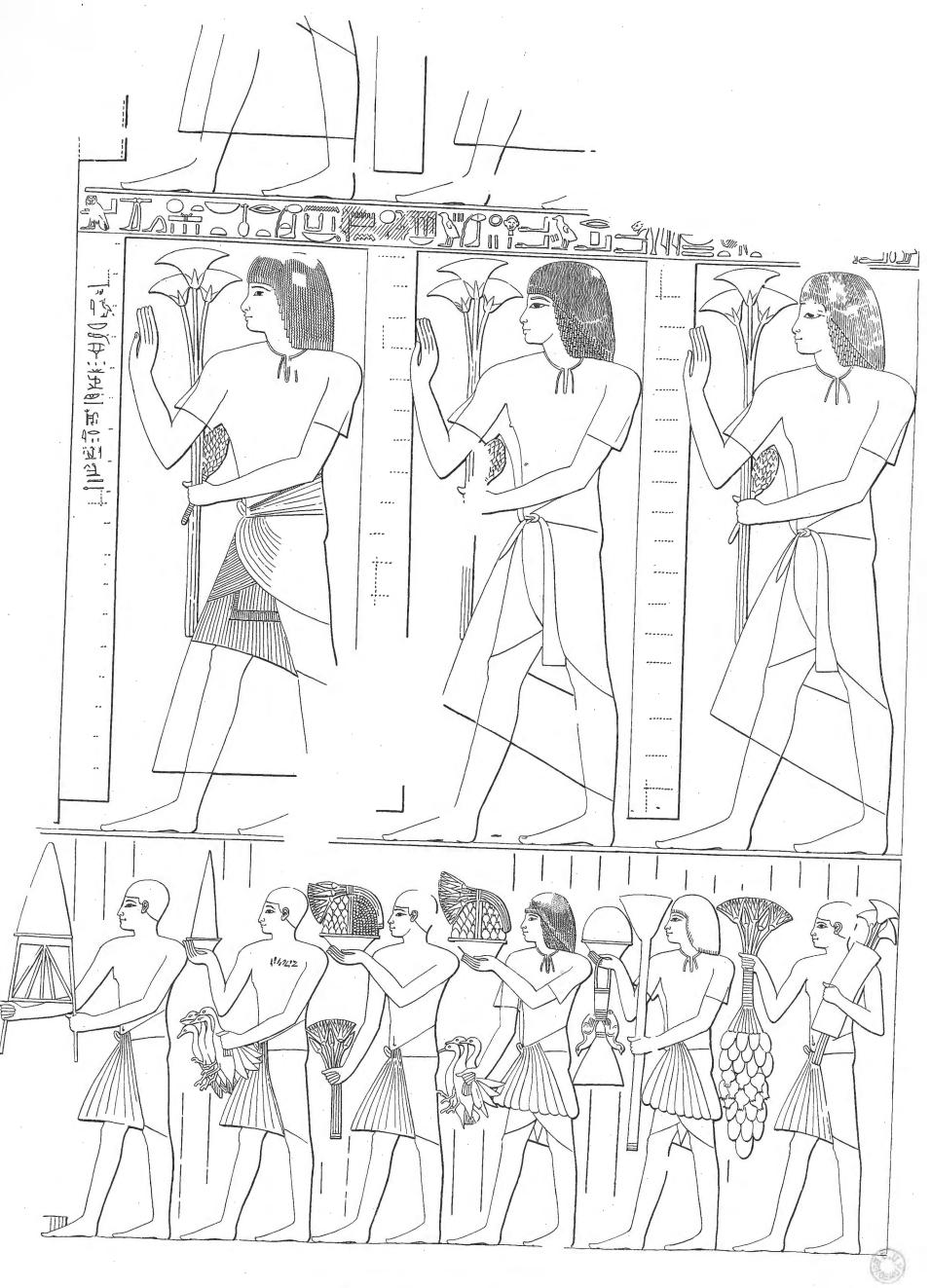
ENTRANCE: SOUTH REVEAL. THE PAIR ADORE THE SUN-GOD



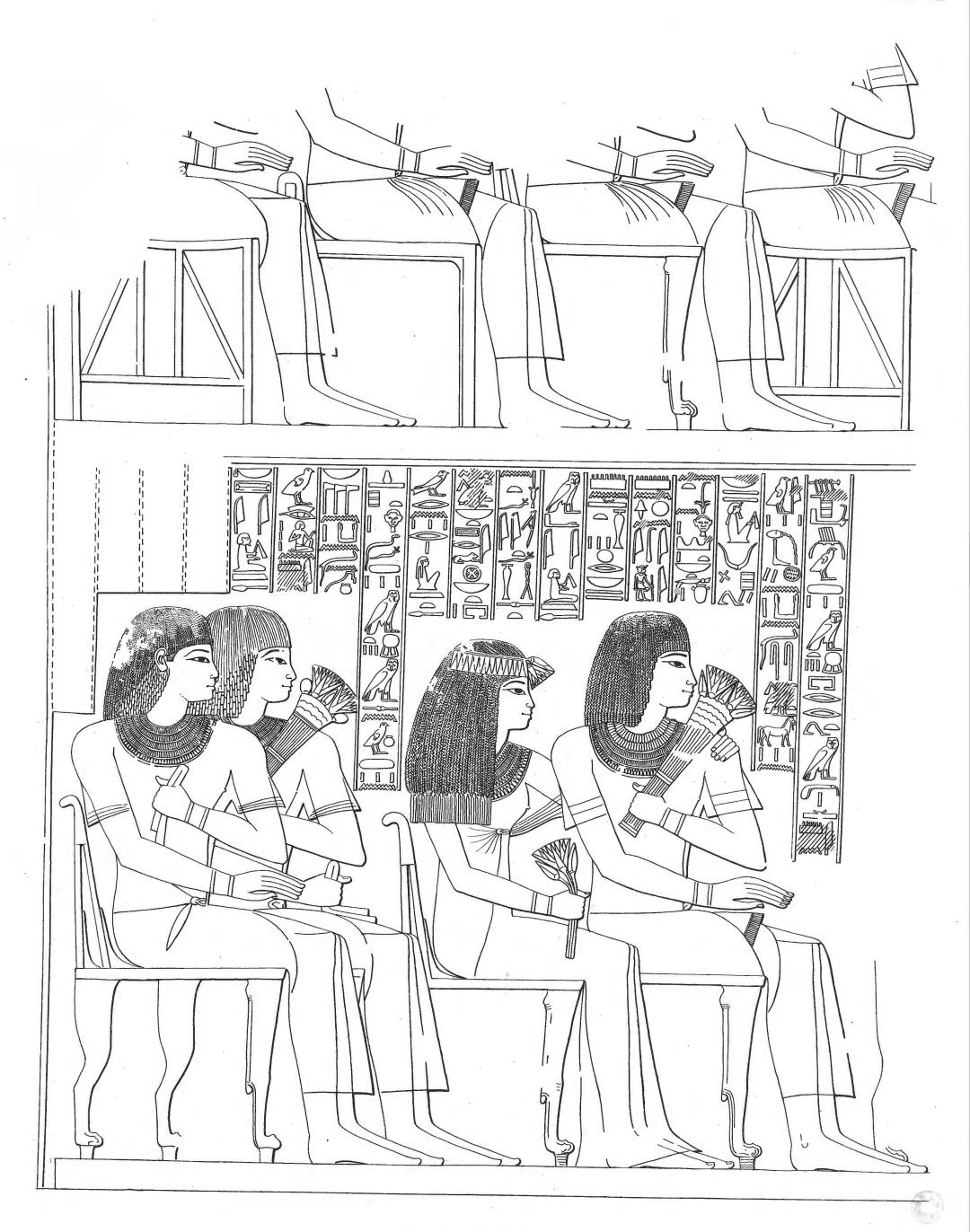
ENTRANCE: NORTH REVEAL. RAMOSE ENTERING



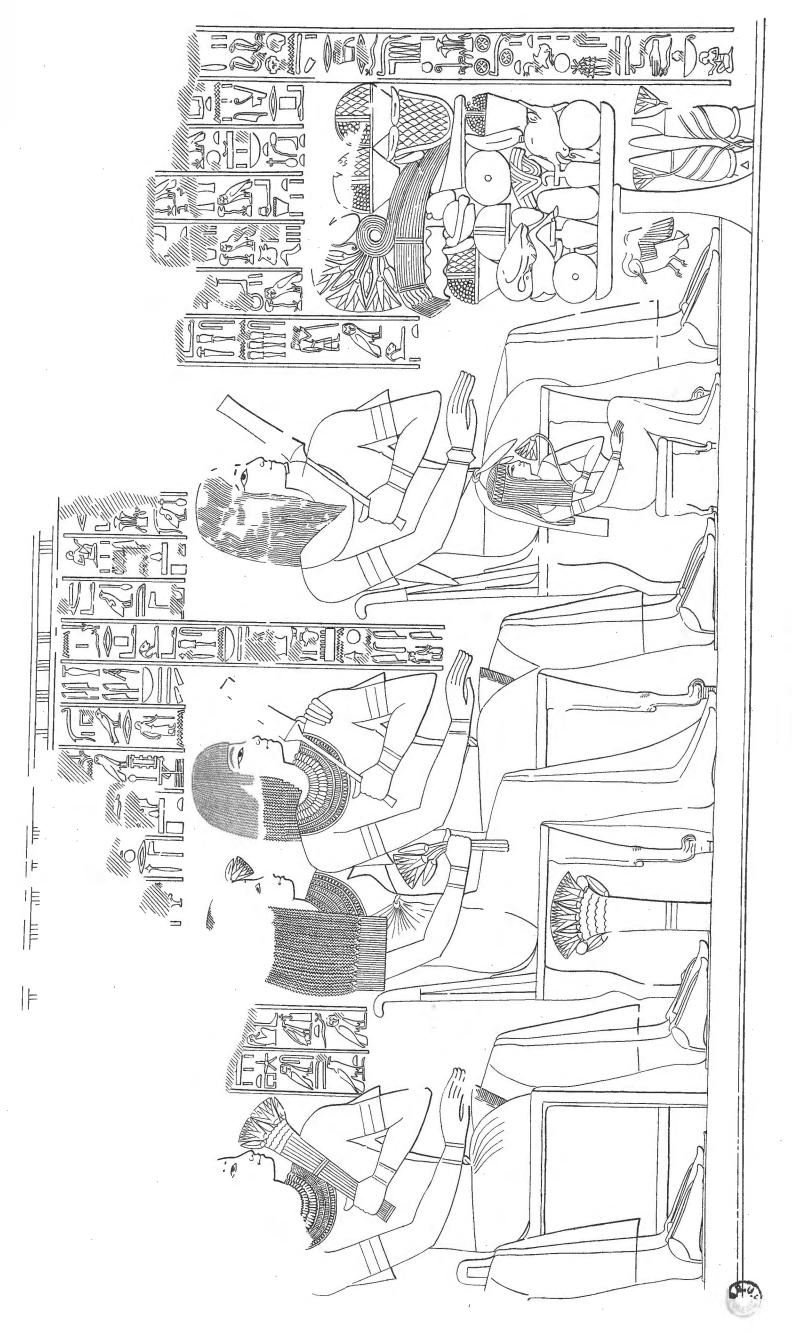
EAST WALL: SOUTH SIDE. 1. RAMOSE OFFERS TO THE SUN



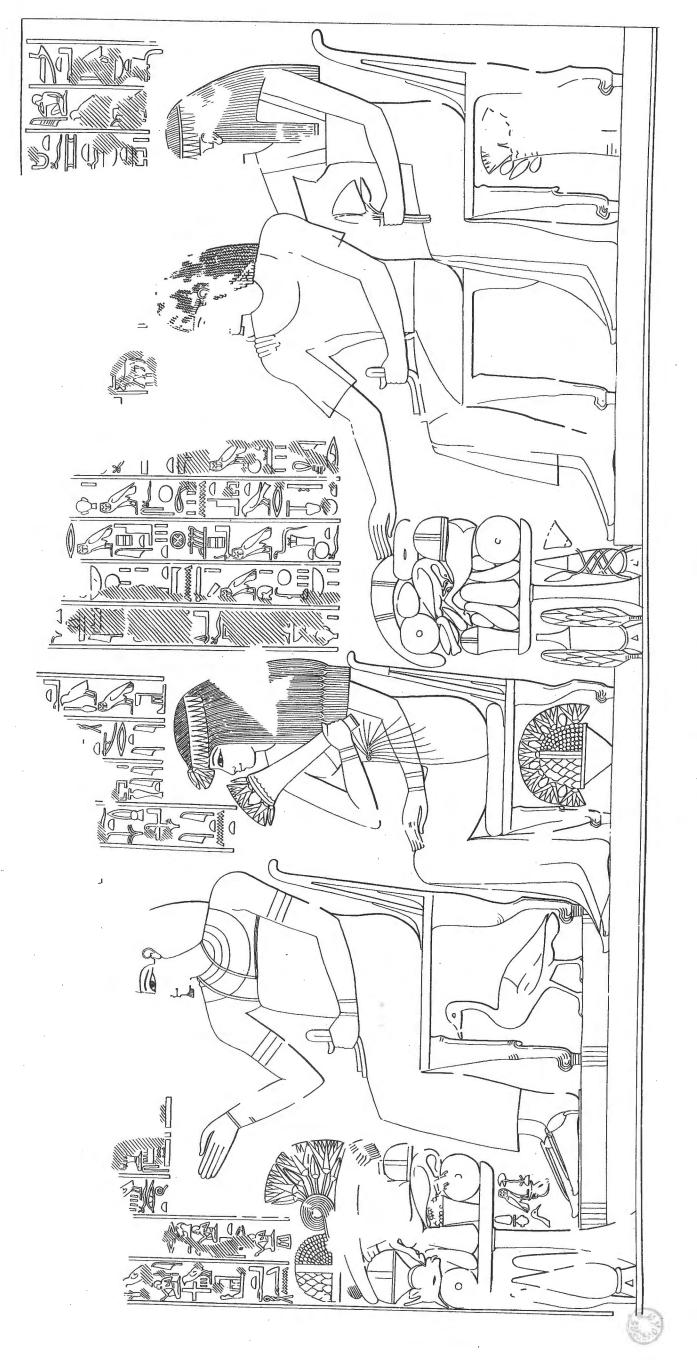
2. ASSISTANTS AT THE OFFERING



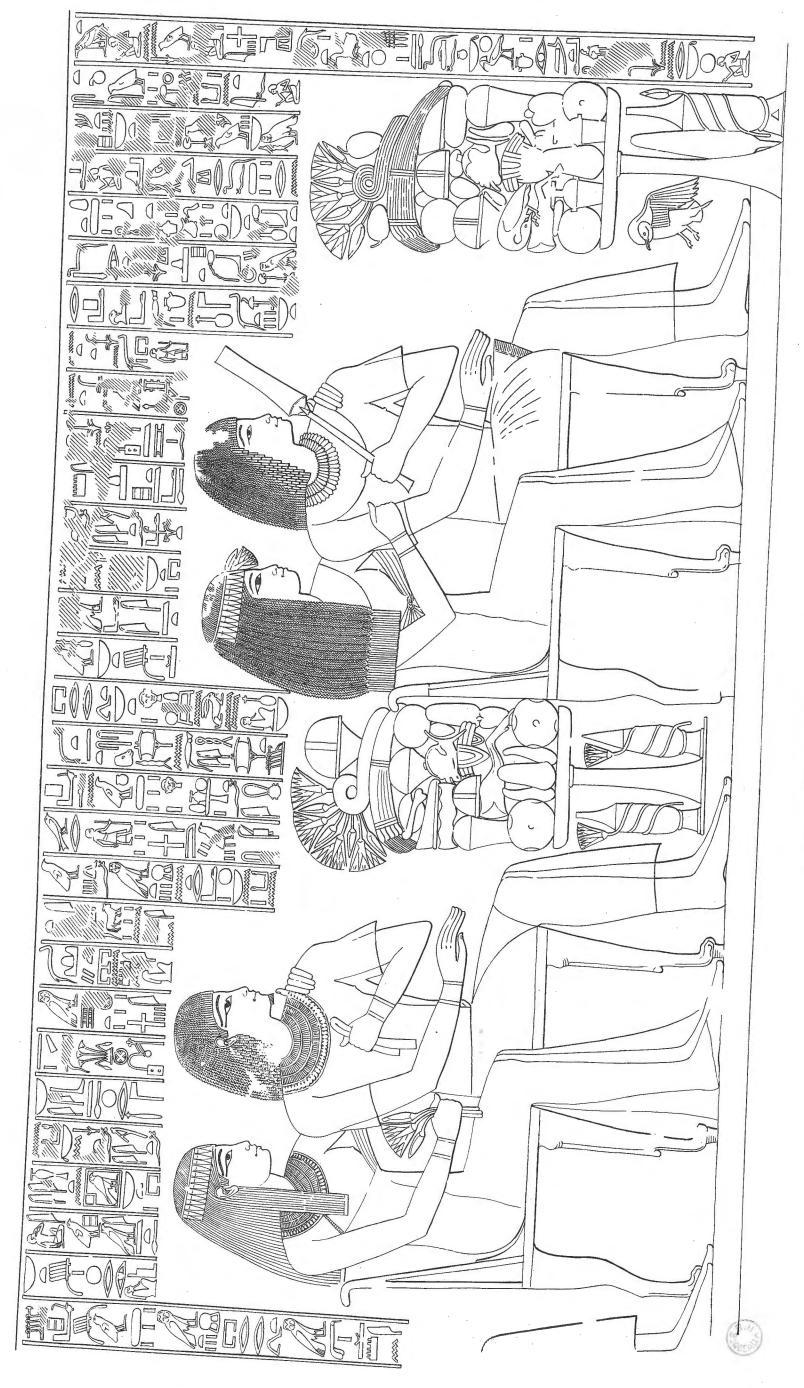
3. RELATIONS OF RAMOSE



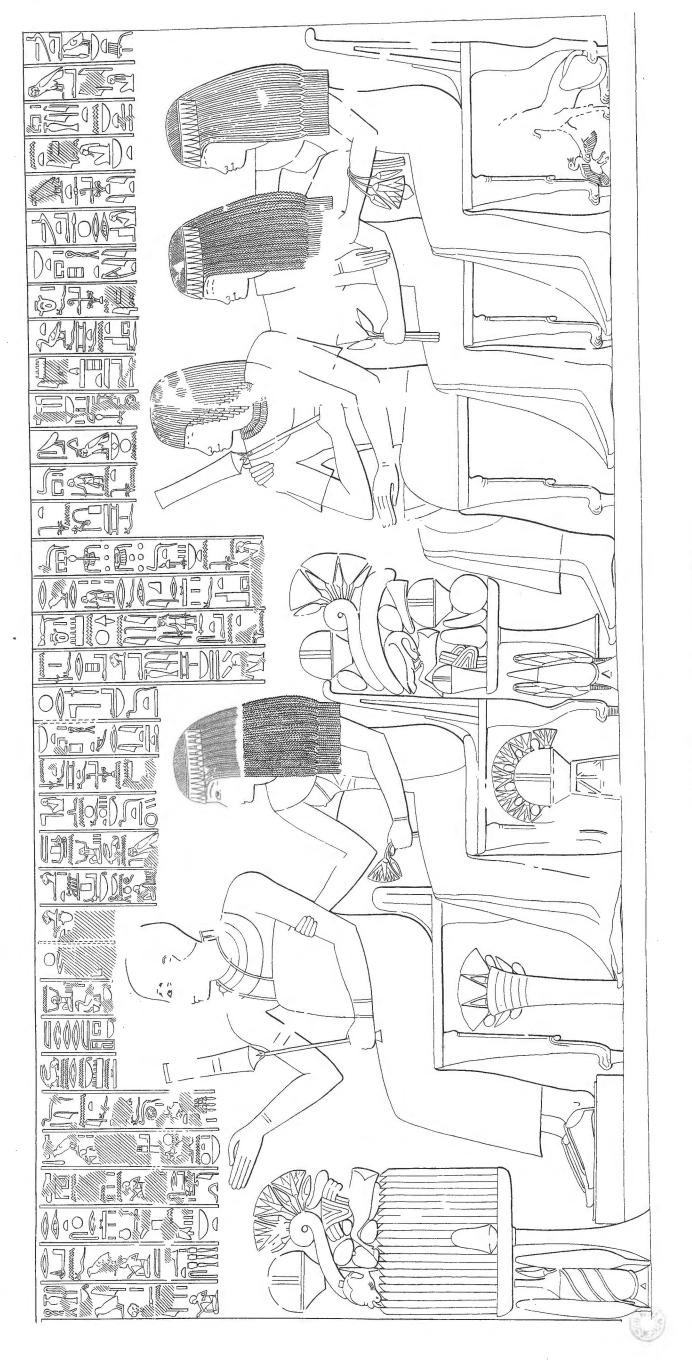
4. GUESTS AT THE MEAL



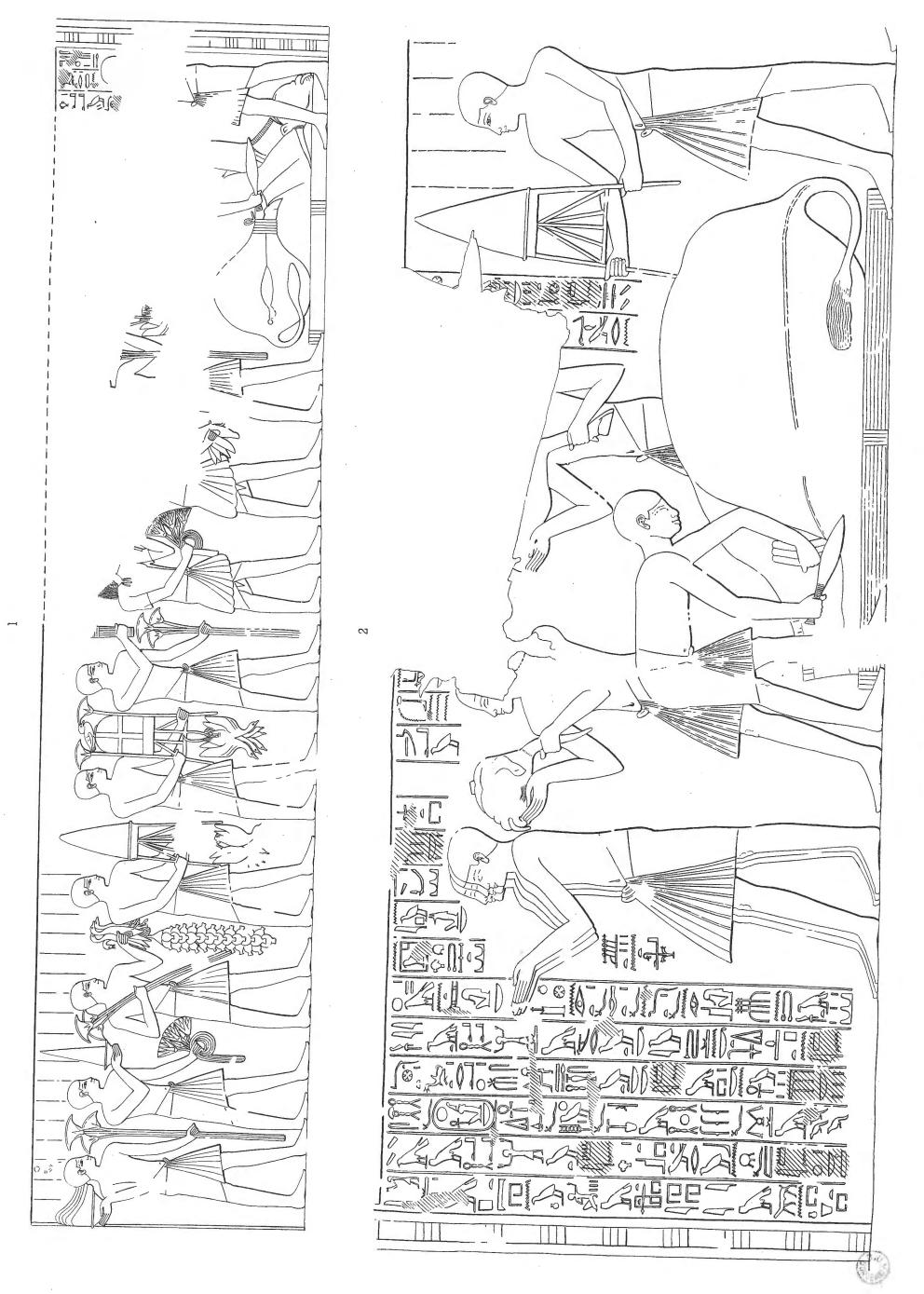
5. RAMOSE WITH HIS WIFE AND PARENTS



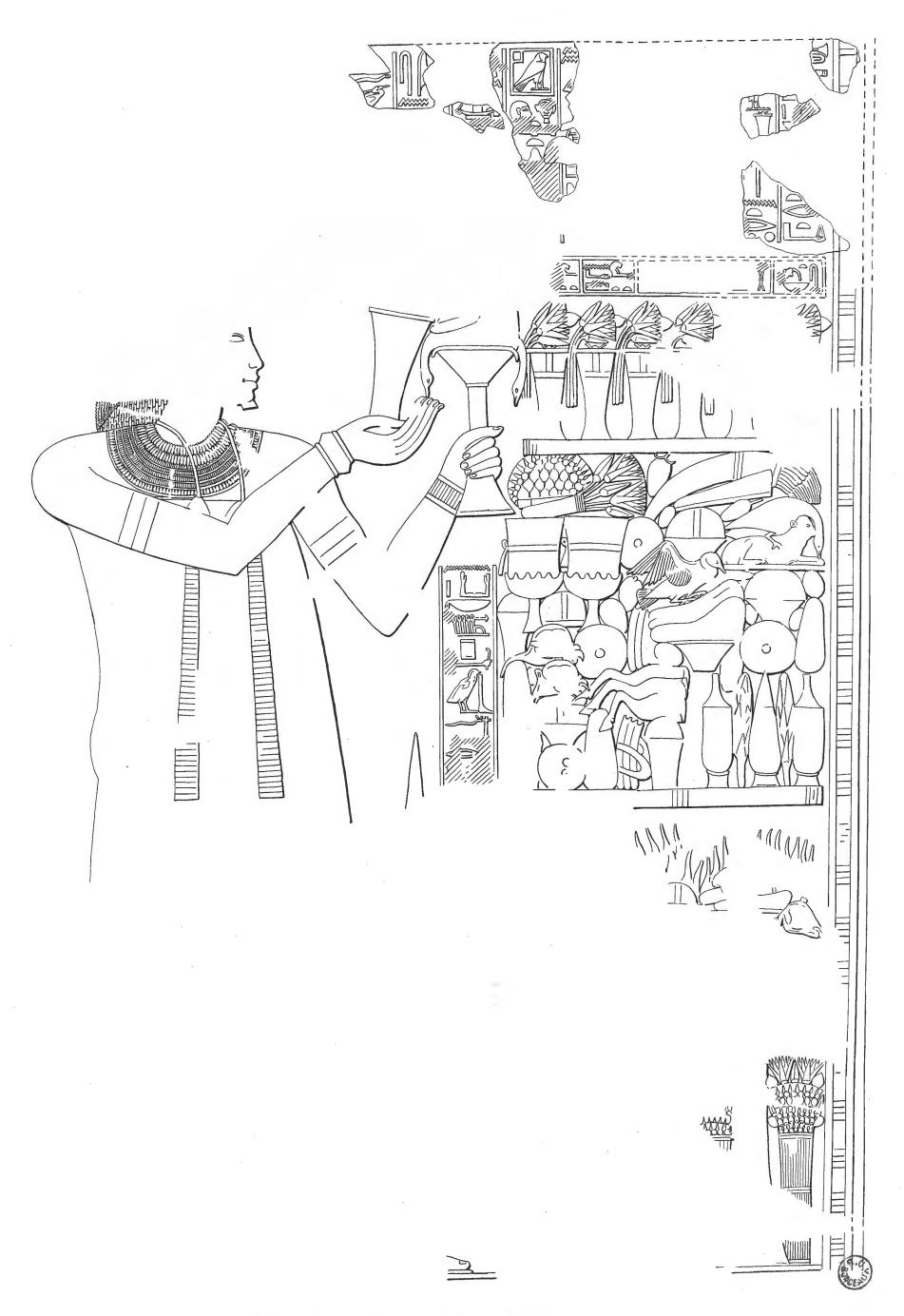
6. THE BROTHER AND PARENTS OF RAMOSE



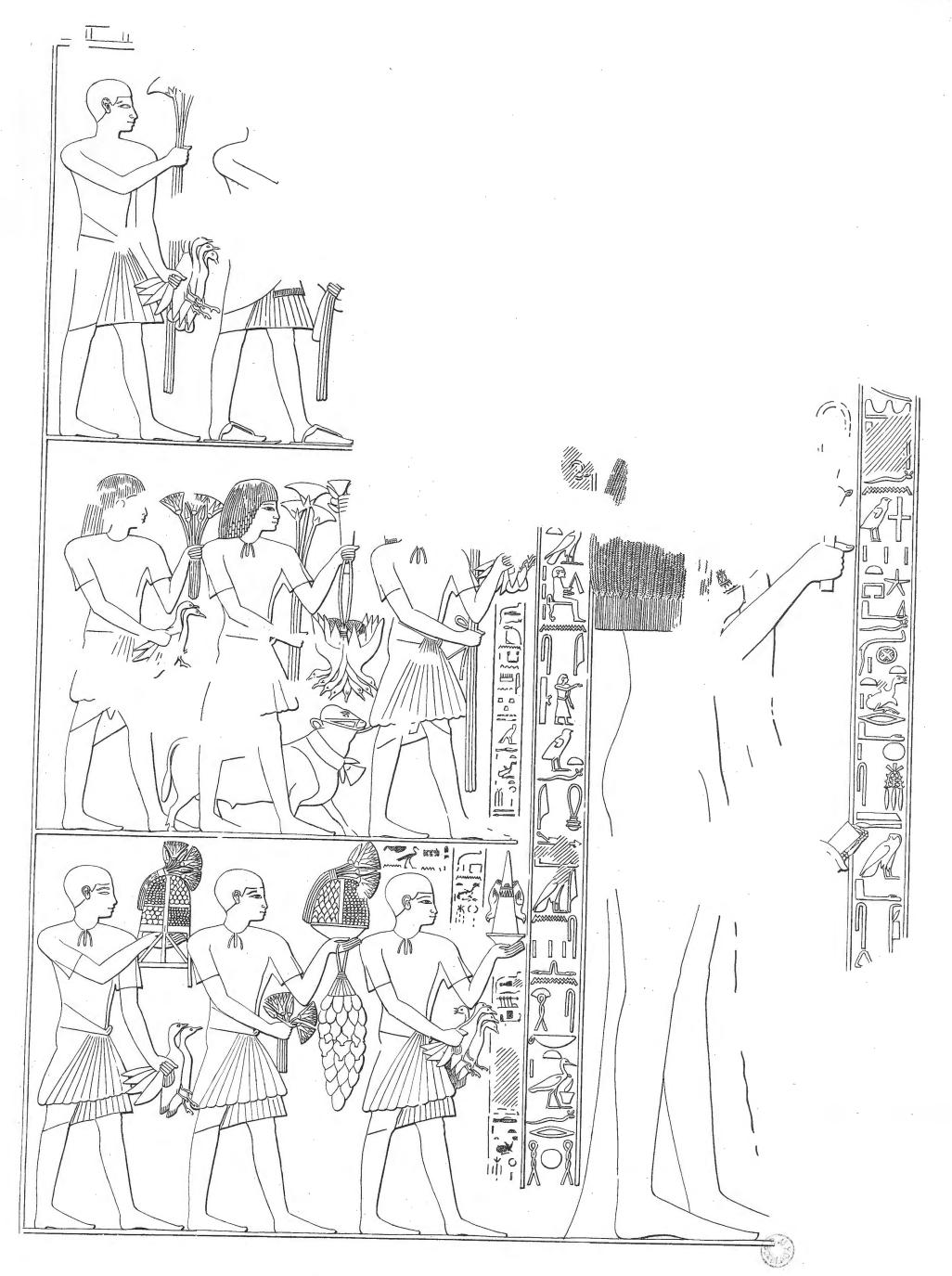
7. RAMOSE AND HIS BROTHER'S FAMILY



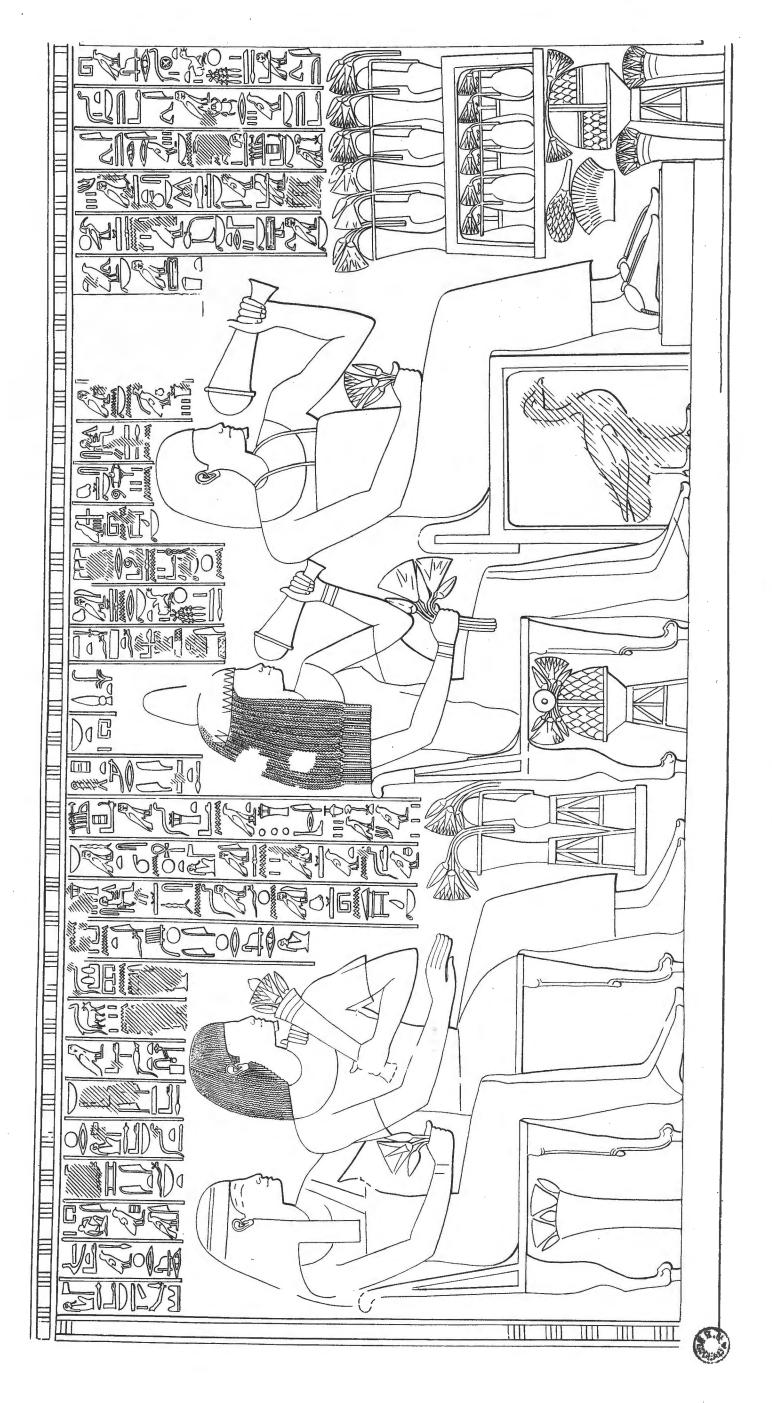
EAST WALL : BOTH SIDES. ASSISTANTS AT THE OFFERING



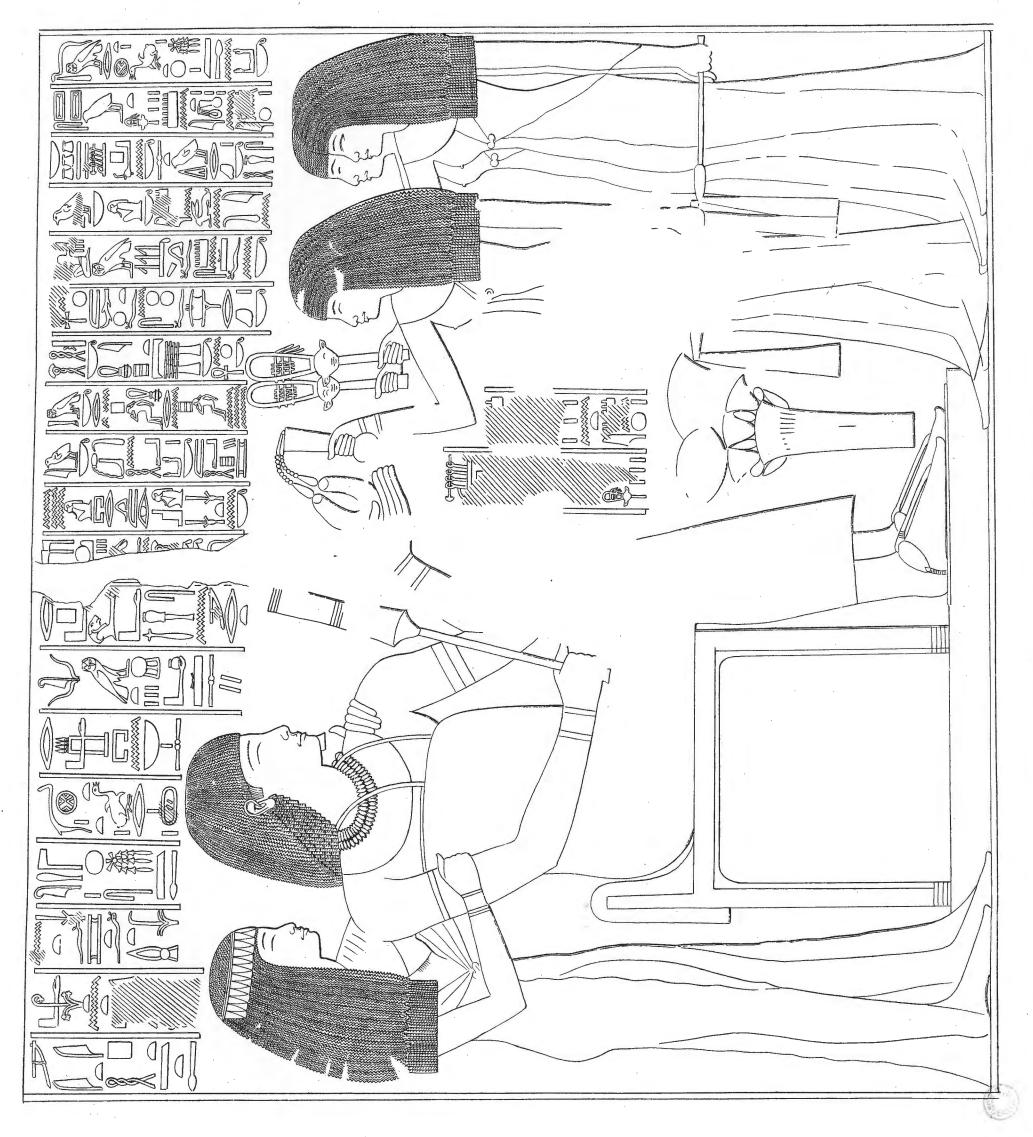
EAST WALL: NORTH SIDE. 1. RAMOSE OFFERS TO THE GODS

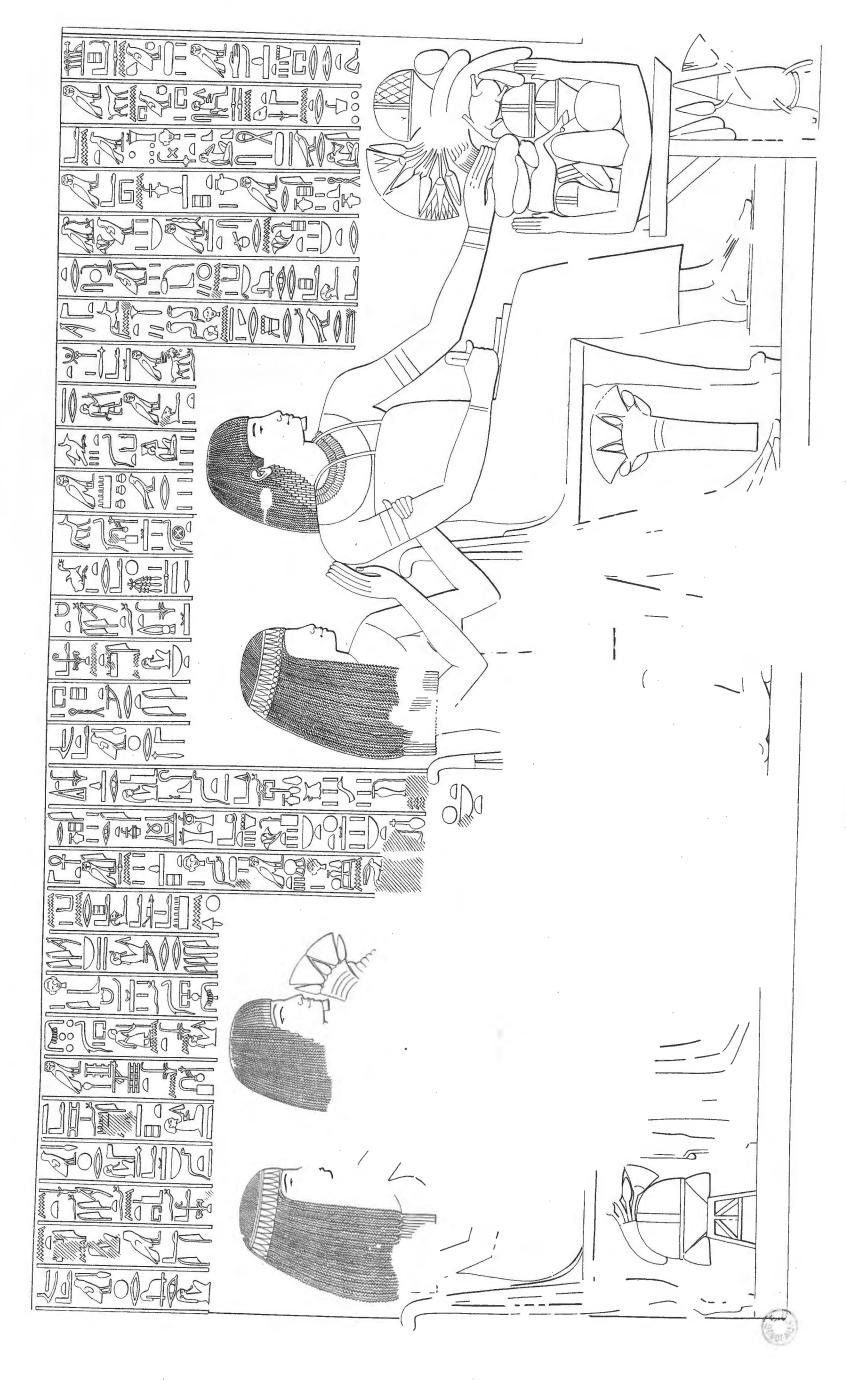


2. HIS WIFE AND OFFICIALS TAKE PART

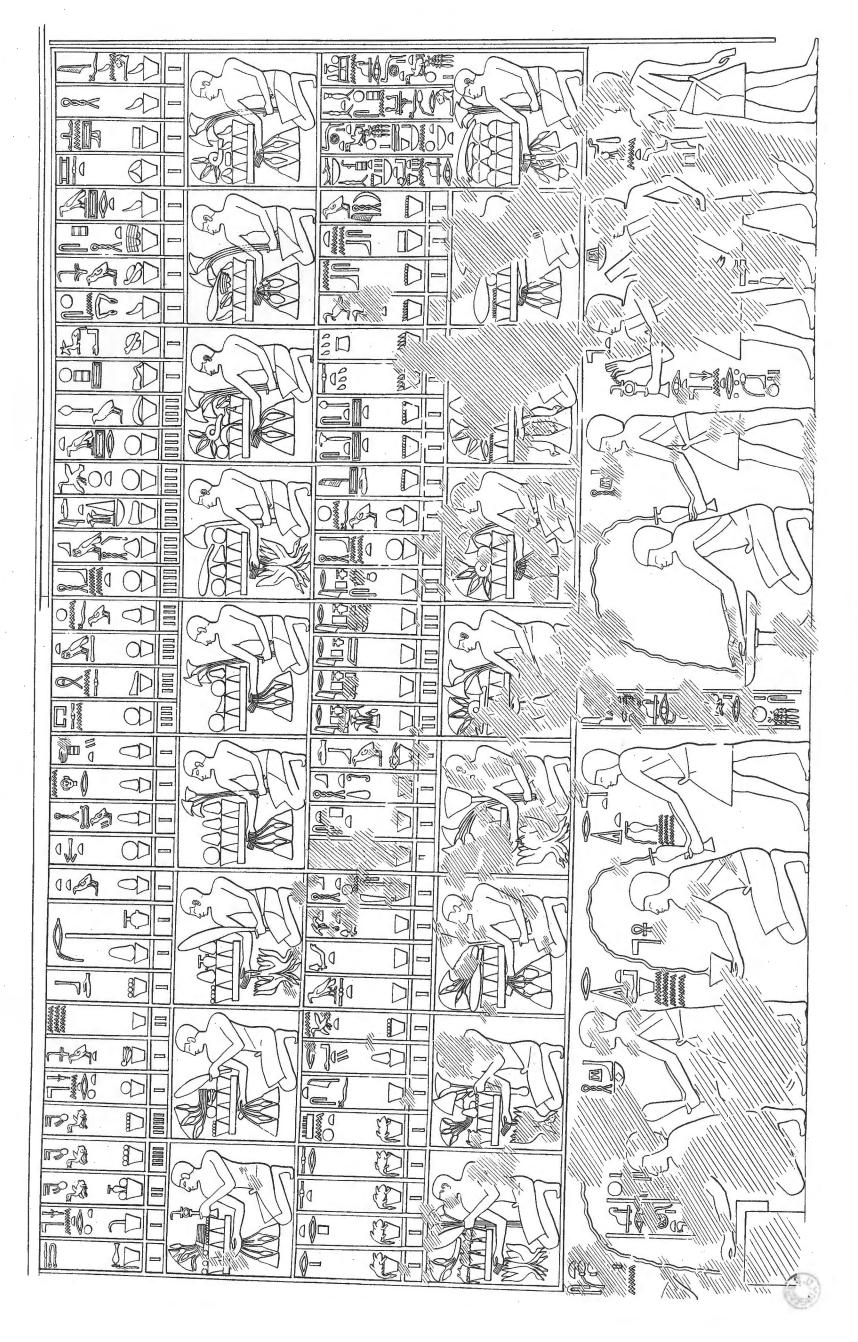


3. THE PAIR RECEIVE OINTMENTS

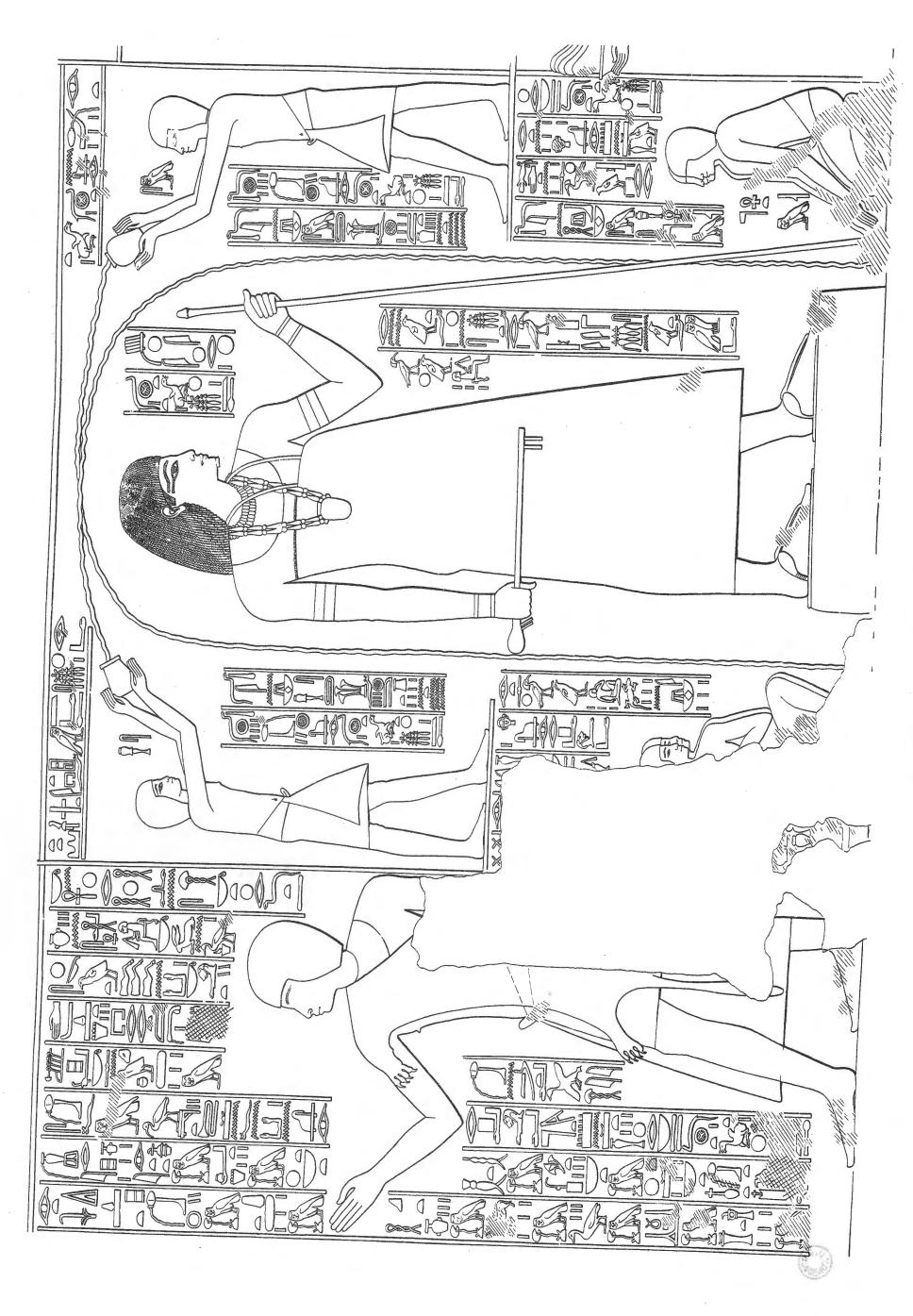




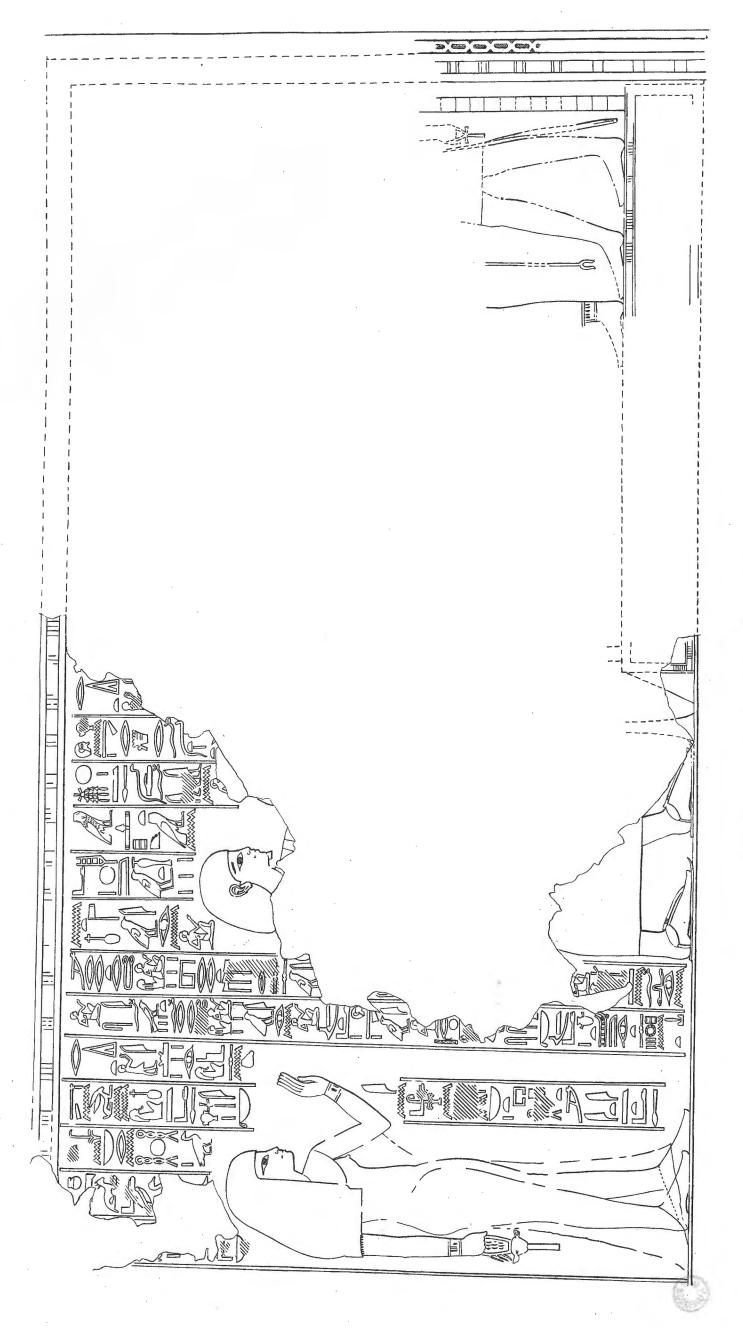
6. RAMOSE AND HIS BROTHER AT MEAT



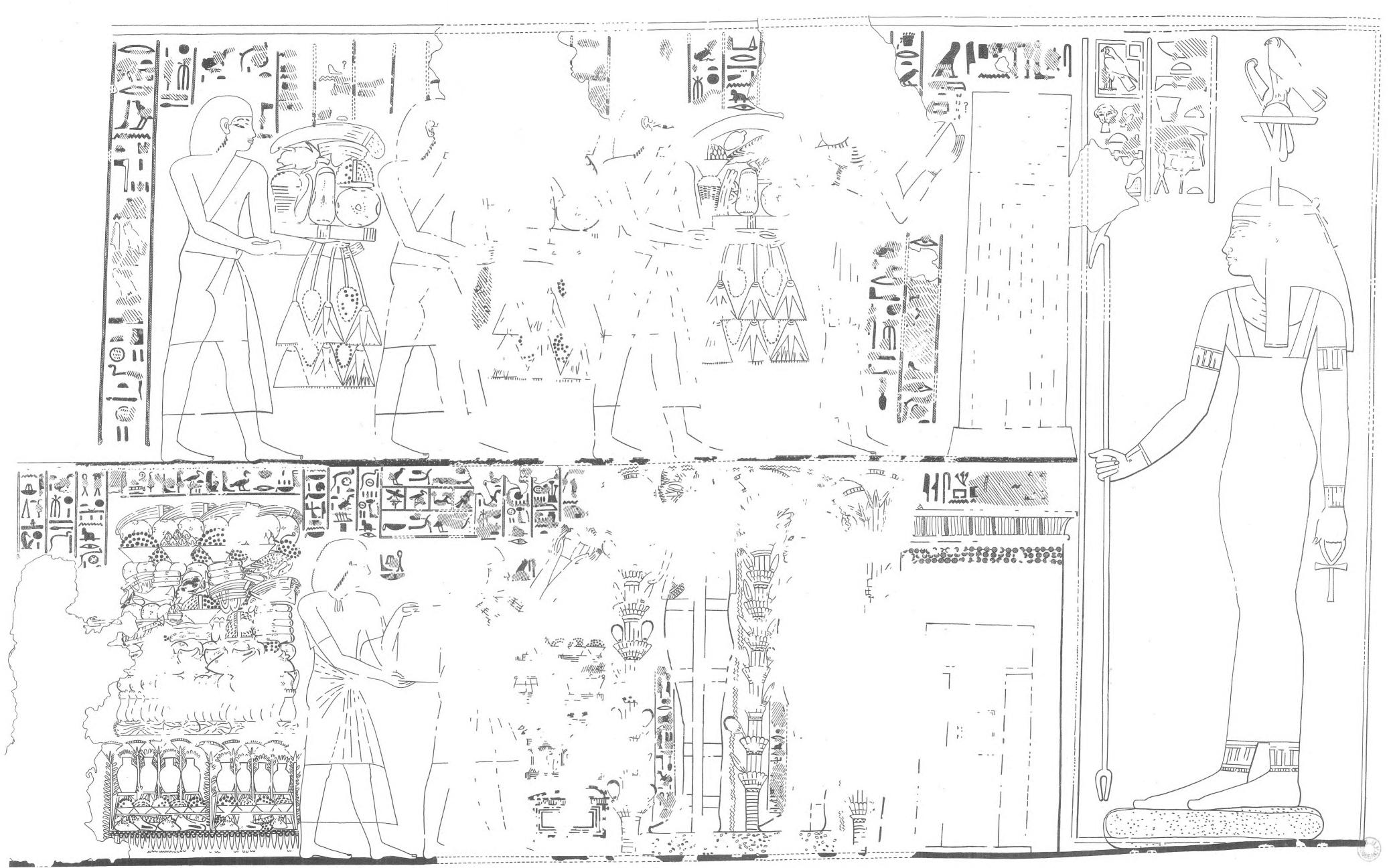
7. CONSECRATION OF THE MEAL



8. THE PURIFICATION OF RAMOSE



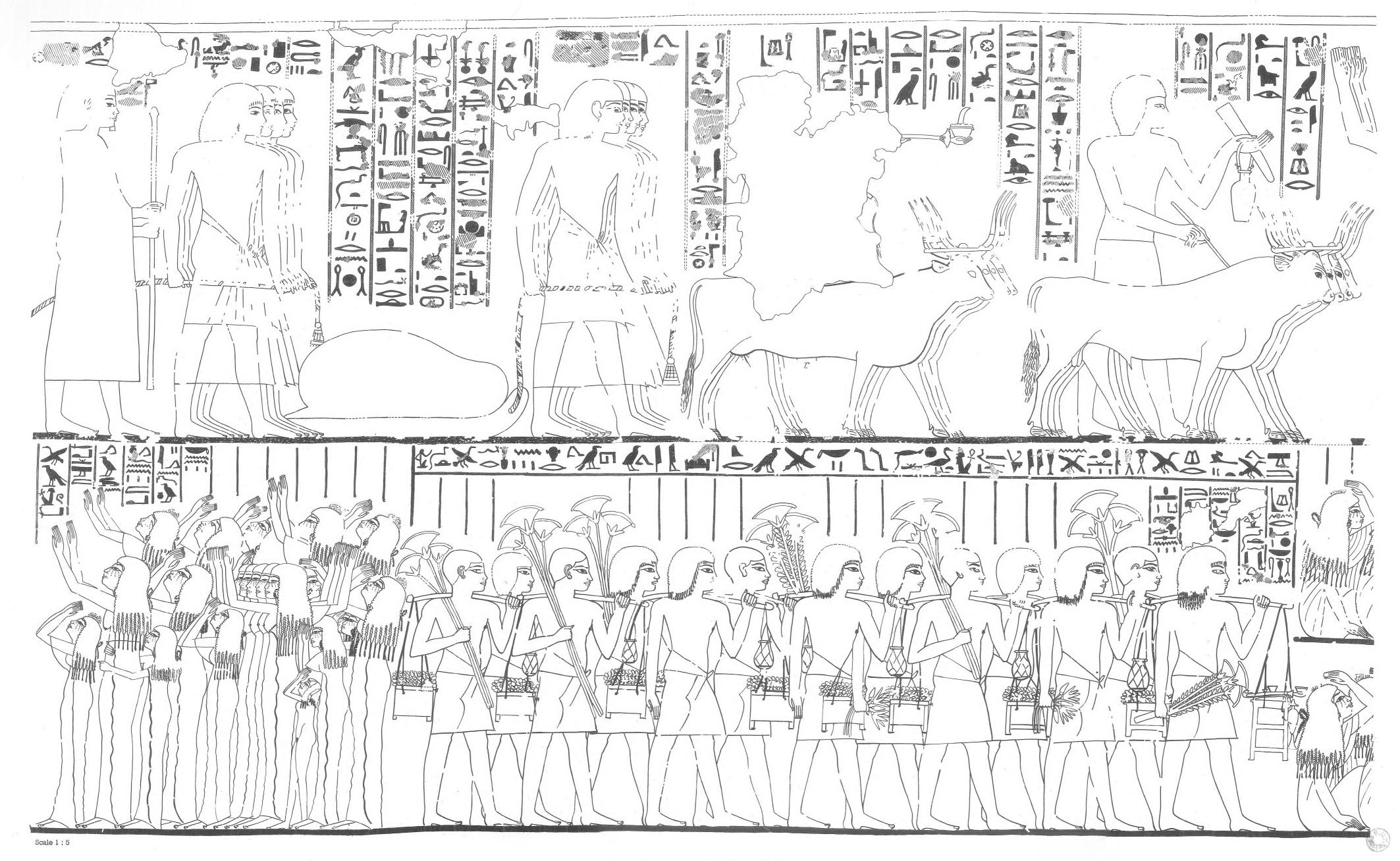
SOUTH WALL. 1. THE DEAD PAIR BEFORE THE GODS



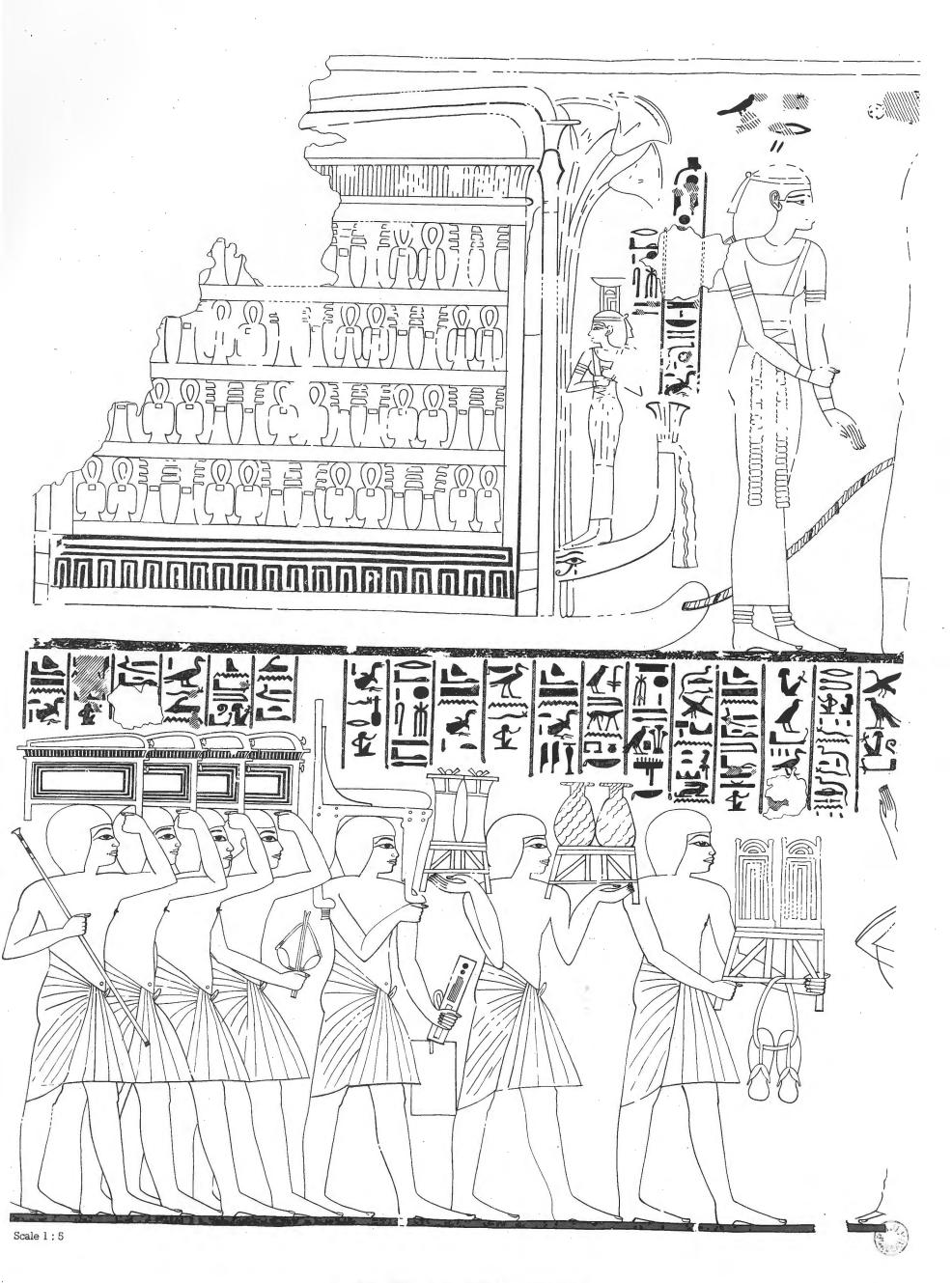
Scale 1:5



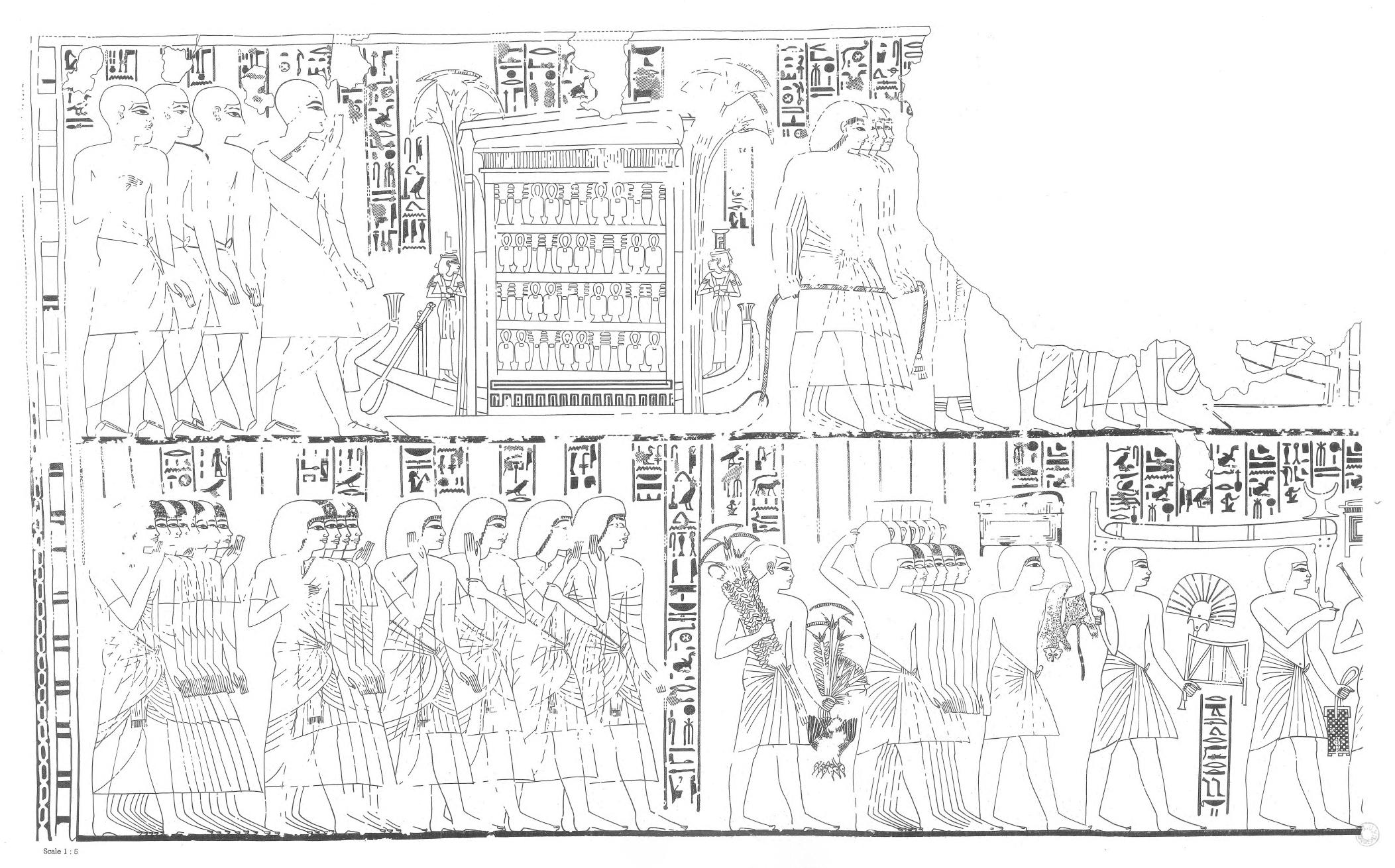
3. THE HEAD OF THE FUNERAL CONVOY



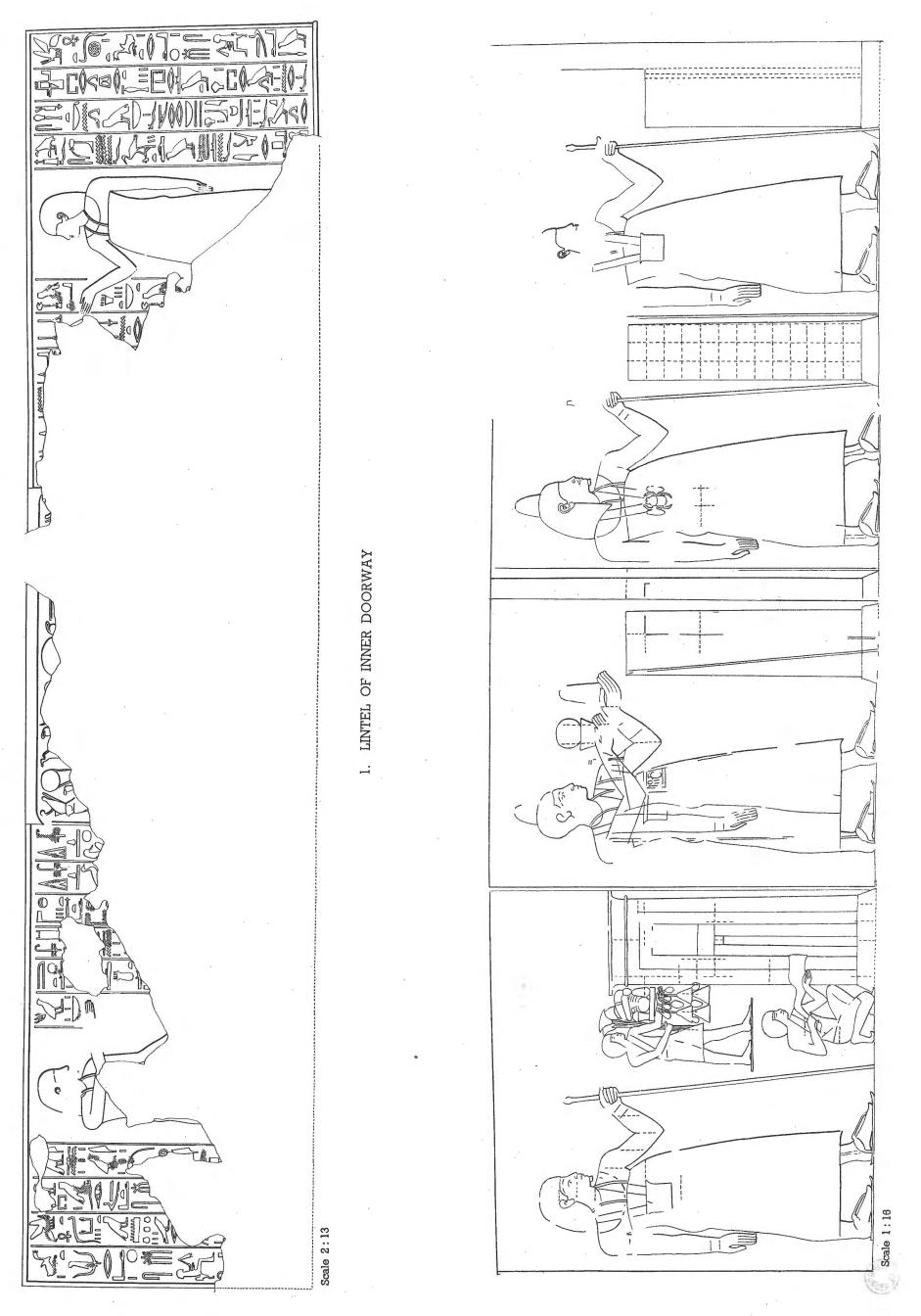
4. BRINGING A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE DEAD



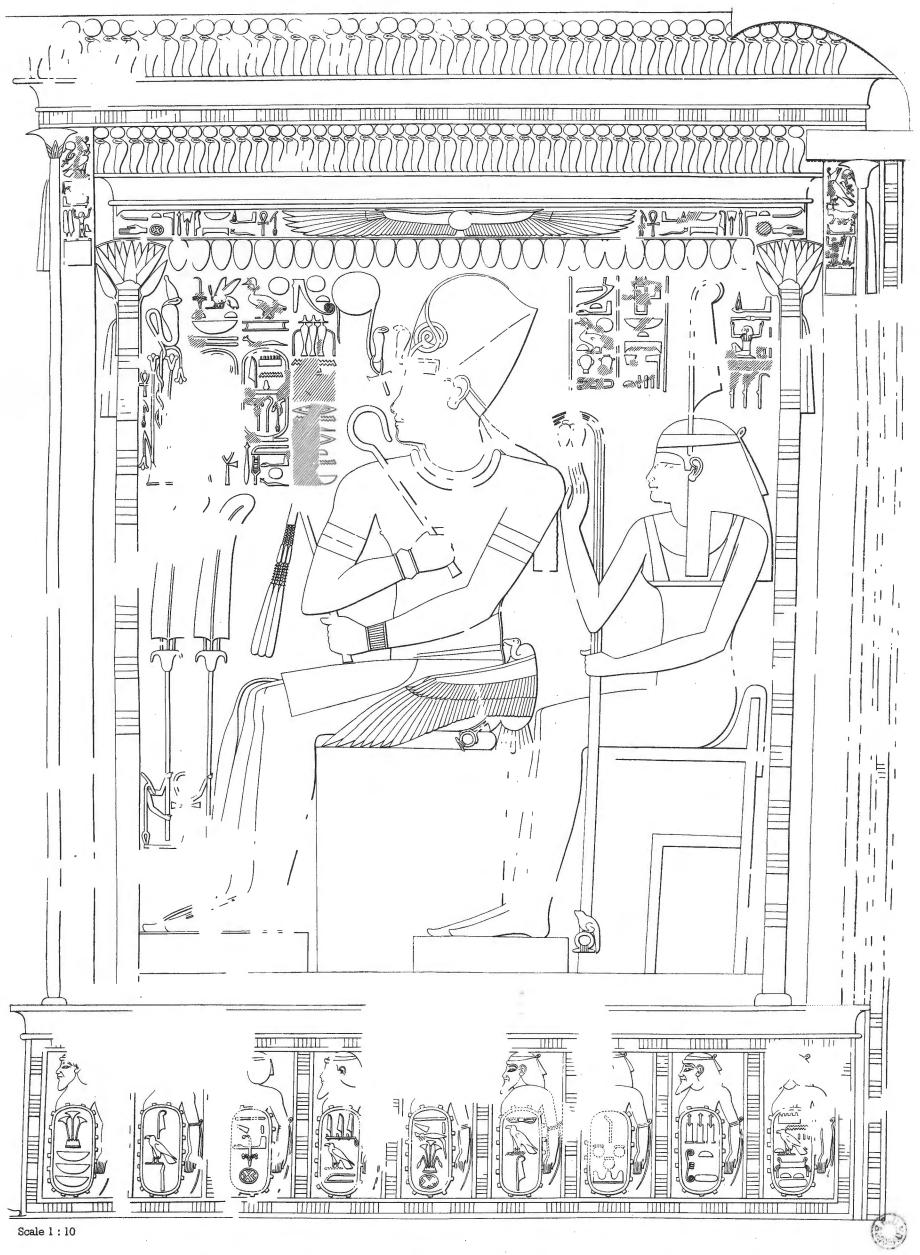
5. THE BIER AND BURIAL FURNITURE



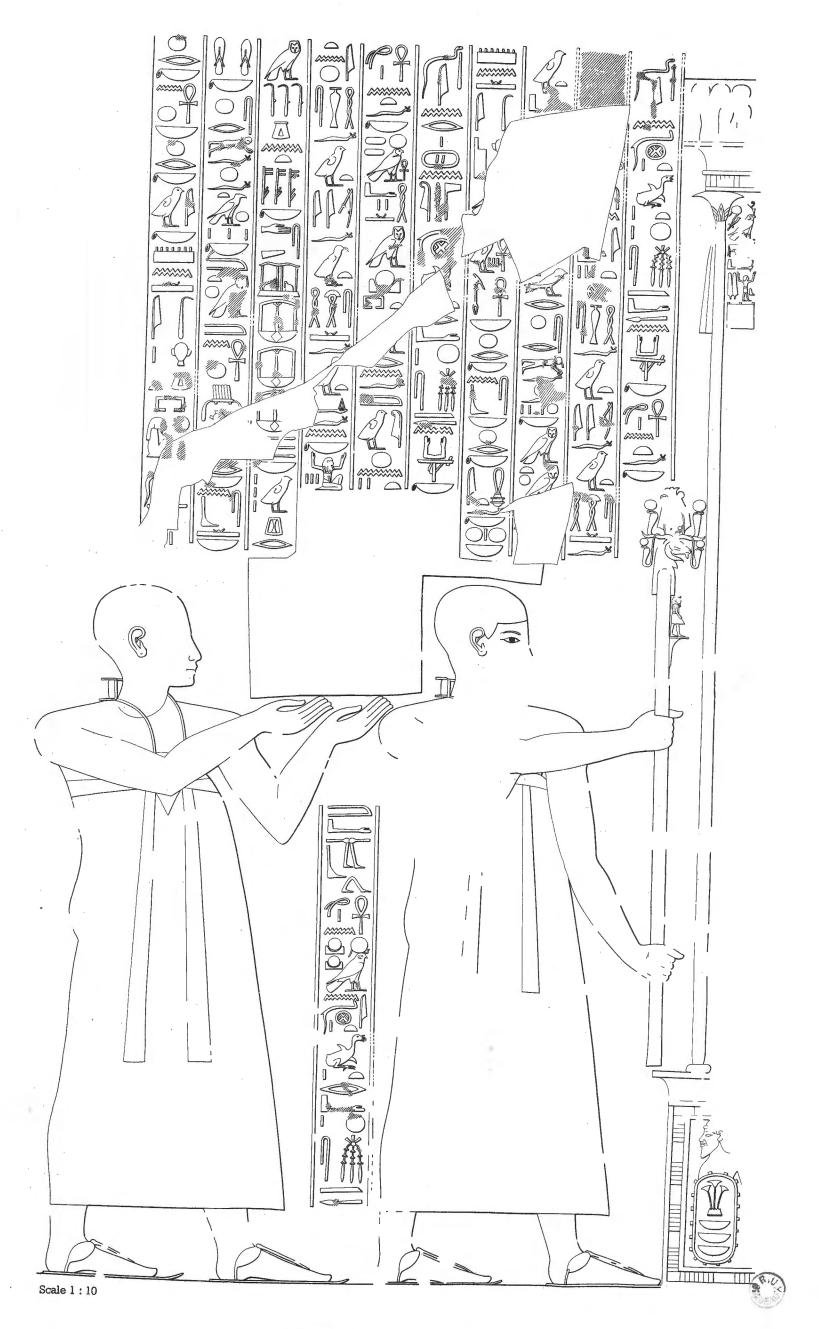
6. THE SHRINE OF THE VISCERA AND MOURNERS



2. SOUTH WALL: LOWER HALF



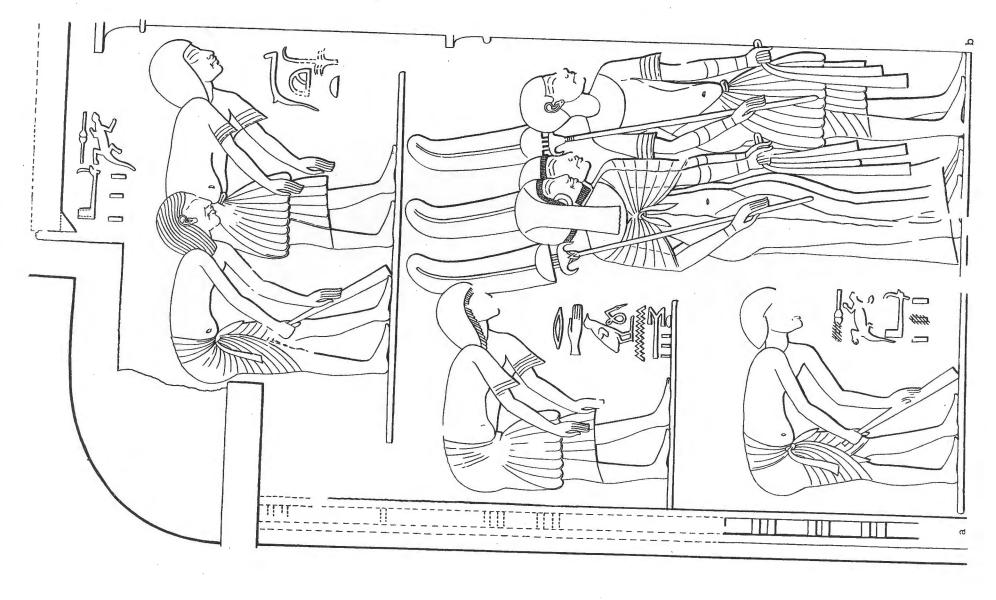
WEST WALL: SOUTH SIDE. 1. AMENOPHIS IV ENTHRONED WITH THE GODDESS MAET

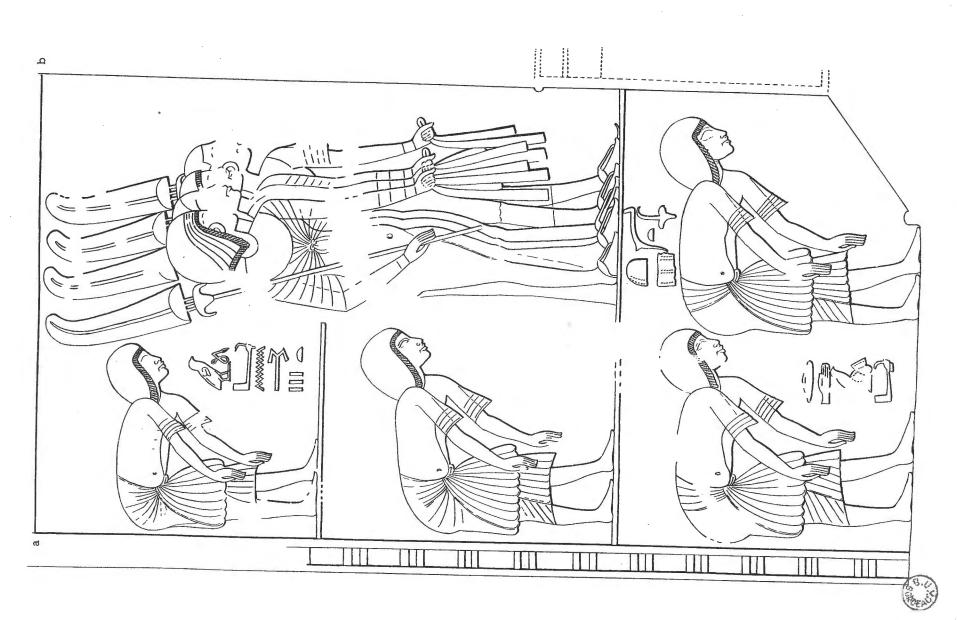


2. RAMOSE BEFORE THE THRONE

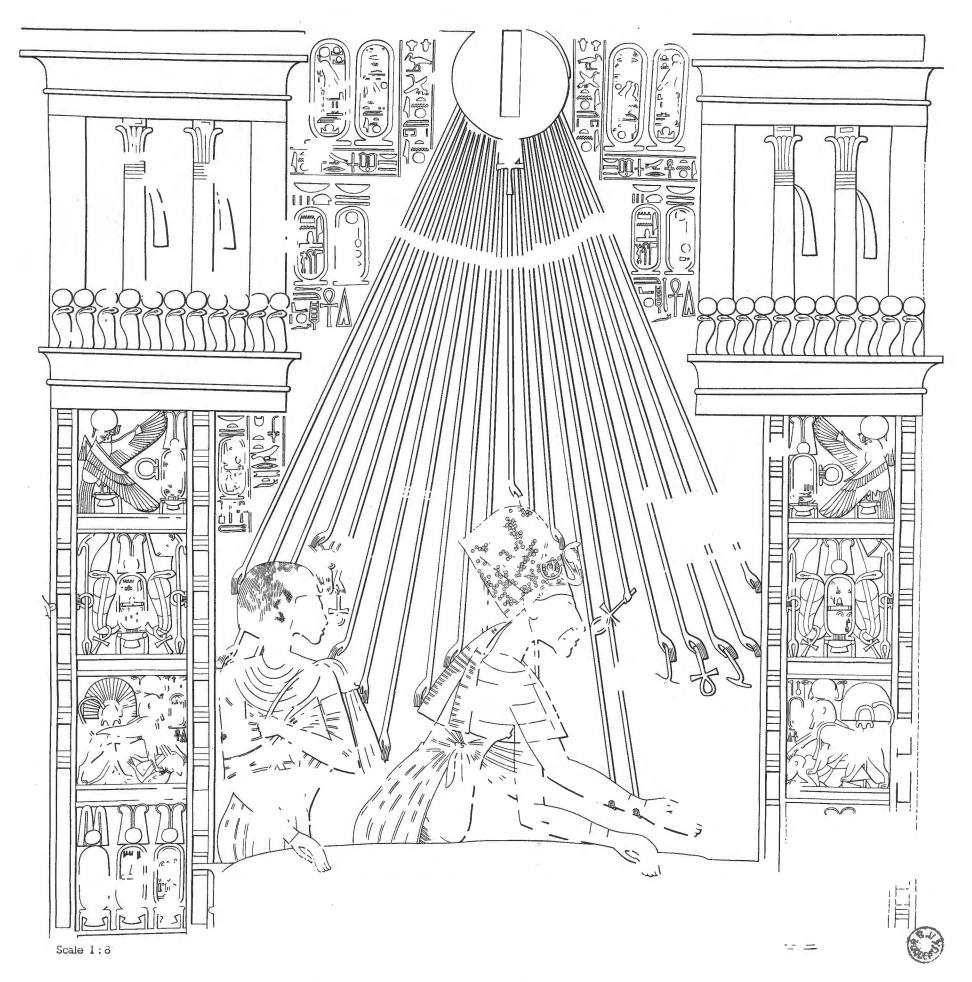


3. OTHER FIGURES OF RAMOSE

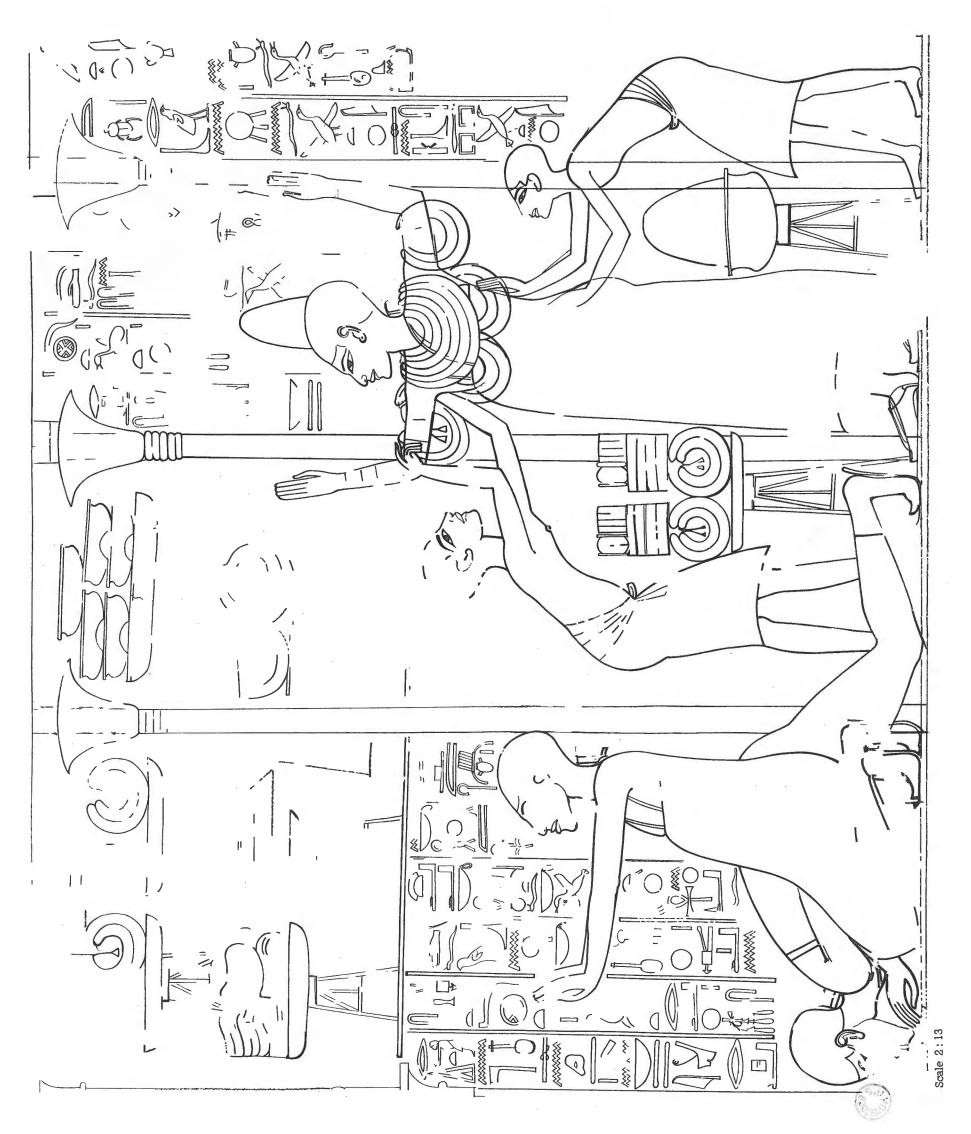


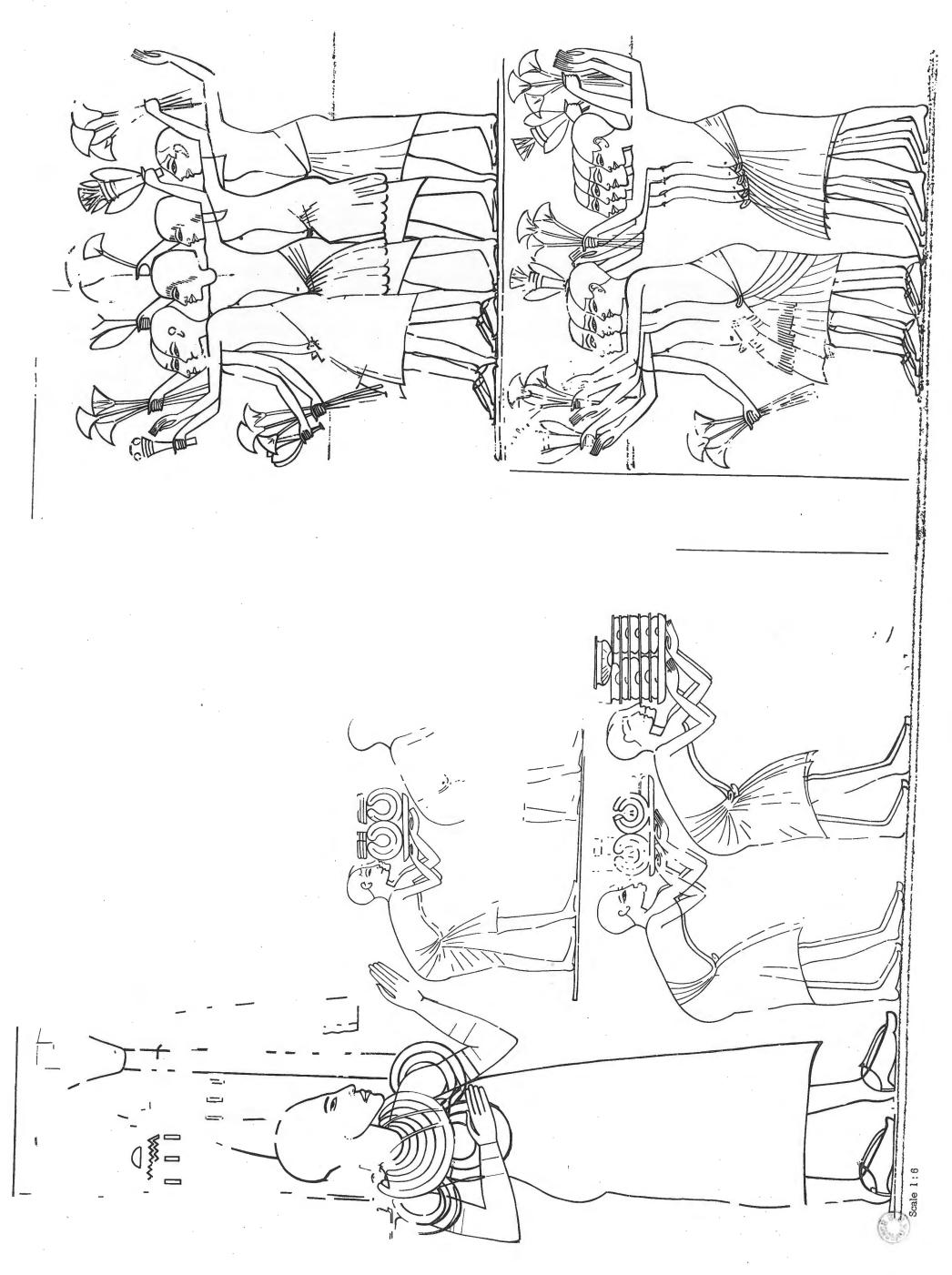


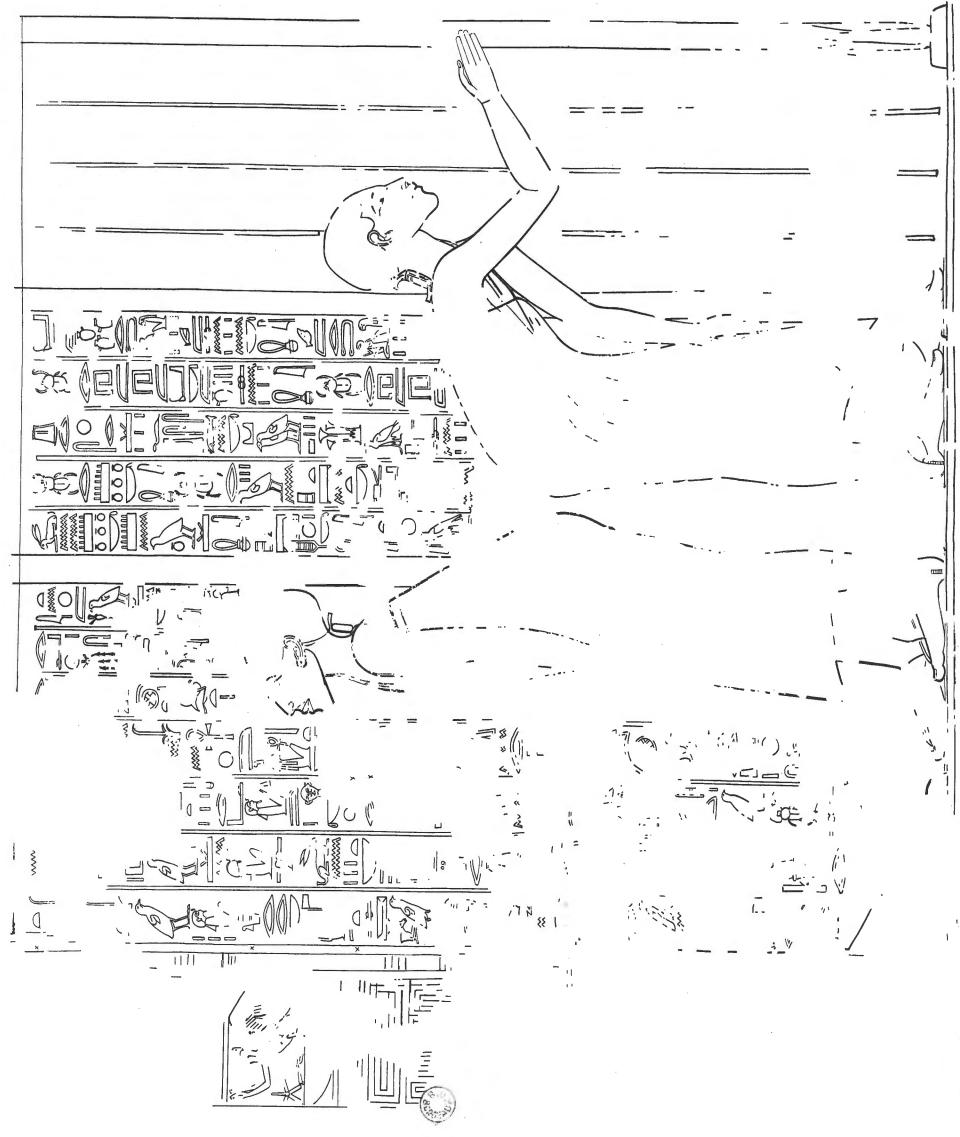
WEST WALL: NORTH SIDE, 1. ATTENDANTS ON THE ROYAL PAIR



2. AKHENATEN AND NEFERTITI AT THE WINDOW

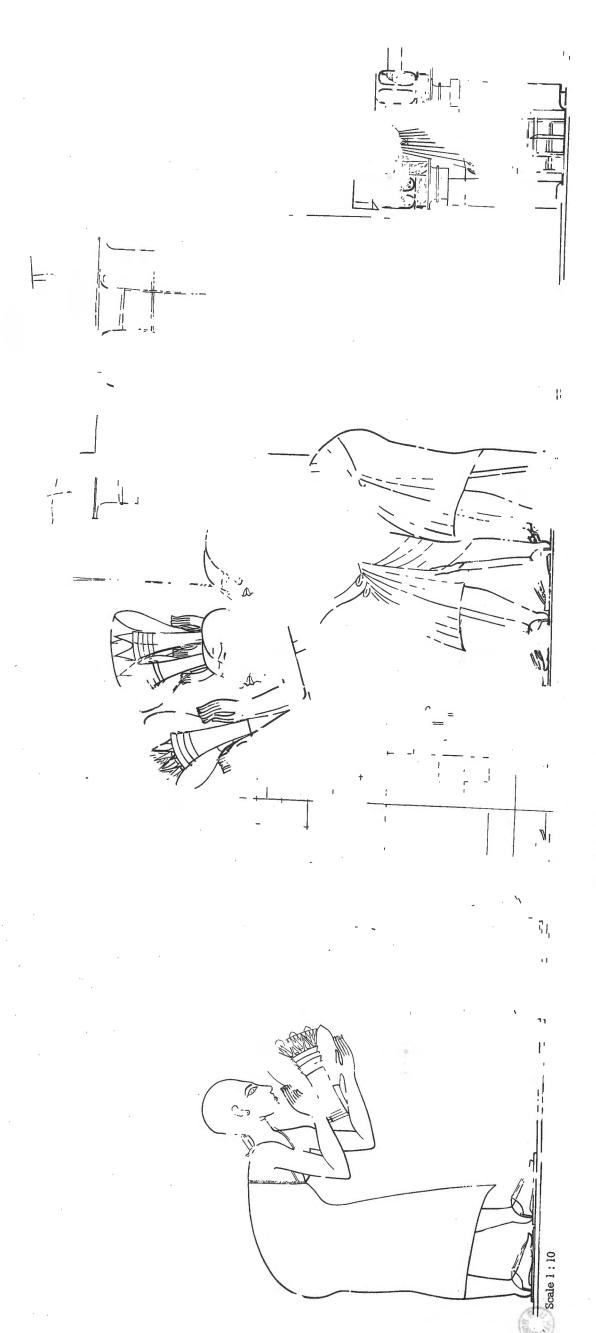






Scale 2:13

3. FOREIGN DELEGATES



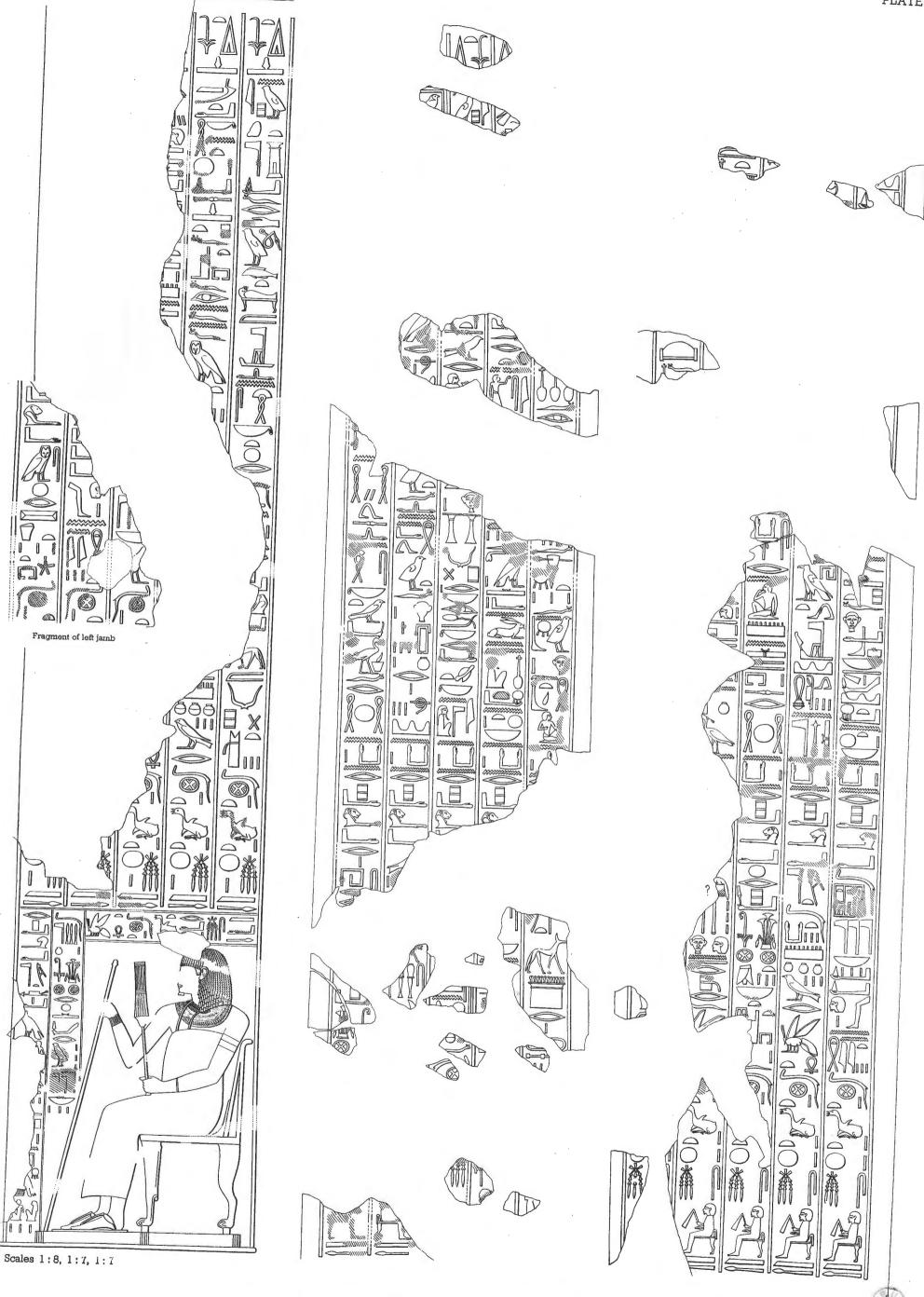
7. RAMOSE RECEIVES A BOUQUET FROM THE TEMPLE



INNER DOORWAY: SOUTH REVEAL. GREETING THE SUN



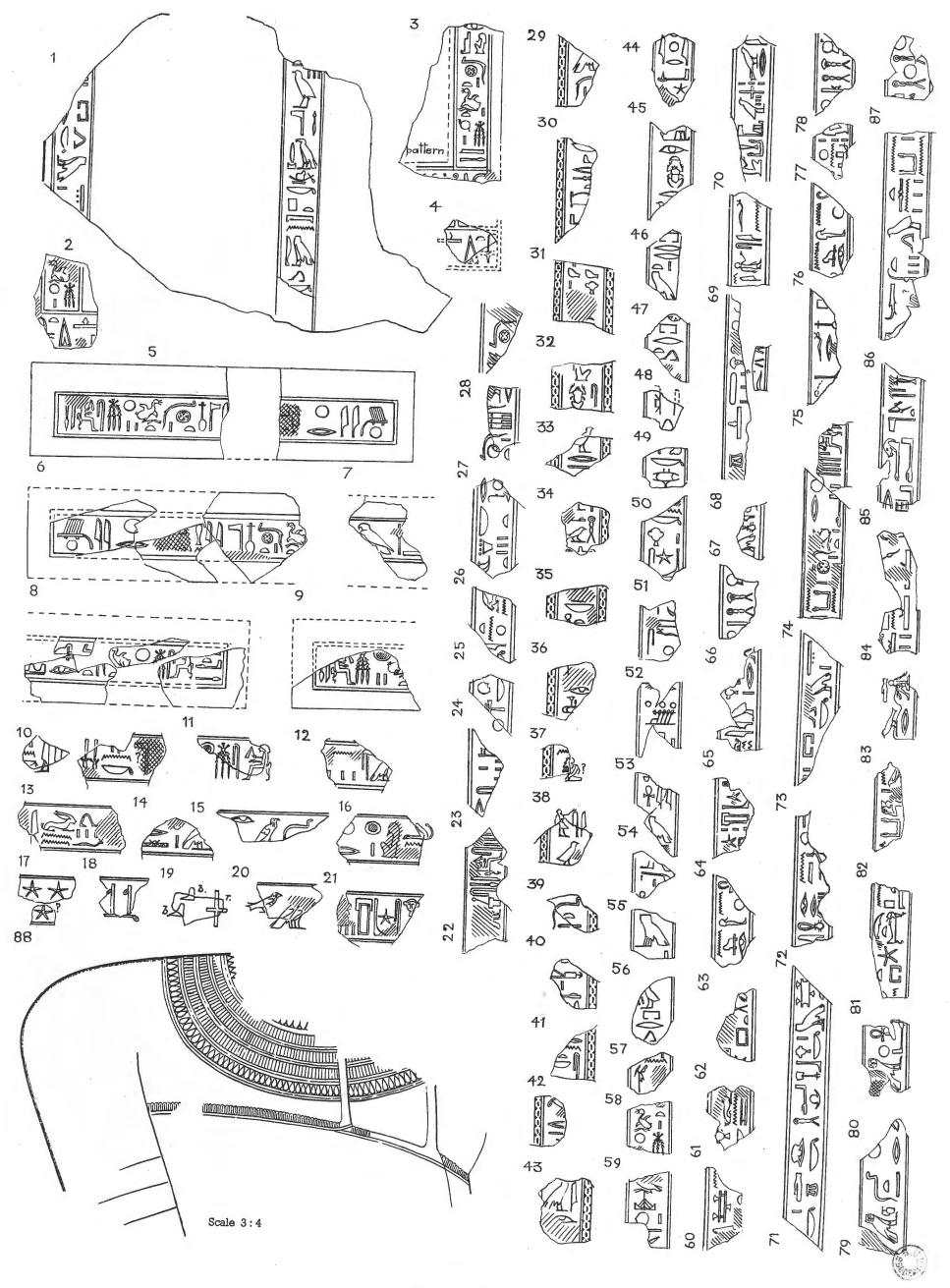
INNER DOORWAY: NORTH REVEAL. RAMOSE GREETS THE INFERNAL GODS



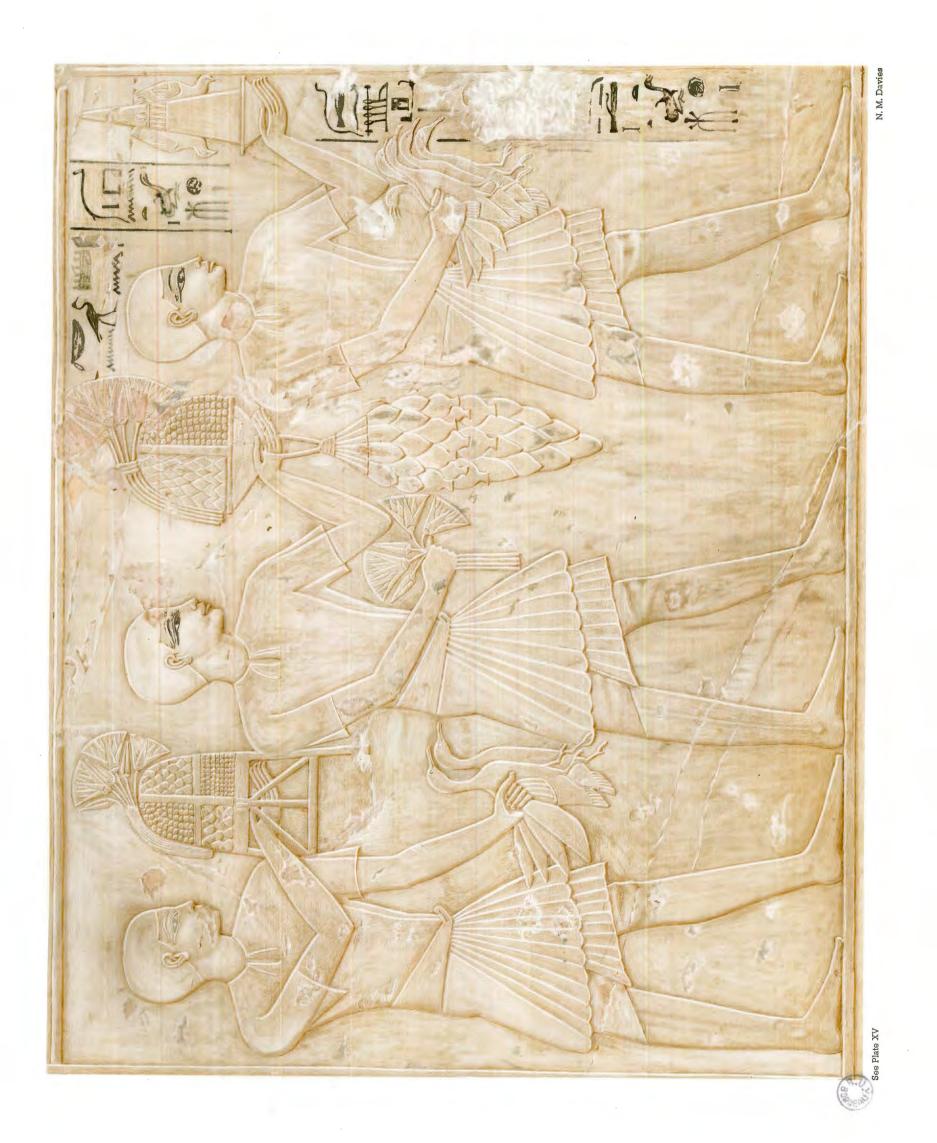
JAMBS. 1. WEST WALL. 2, 3. EAST WALL.

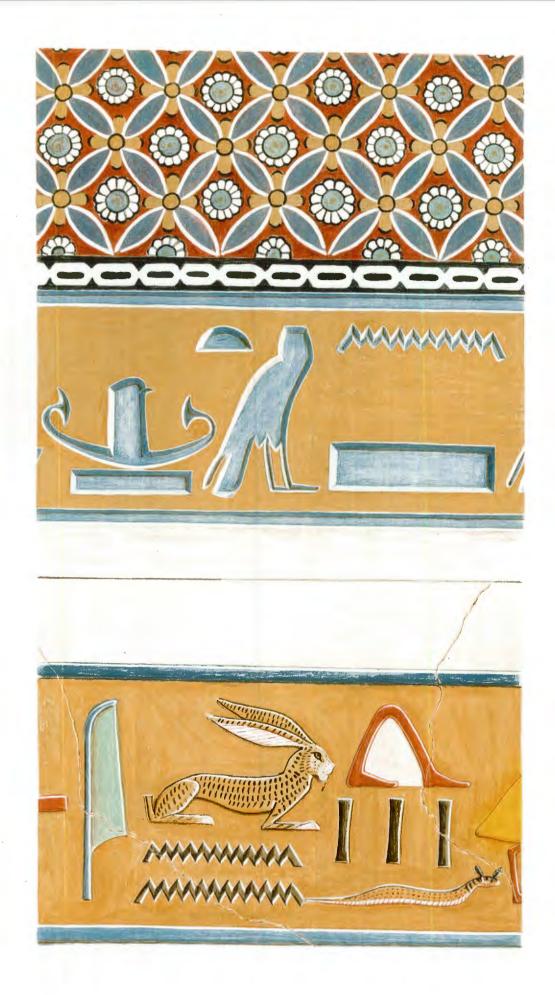


HIEROGLYPHS



FRAGMENTS





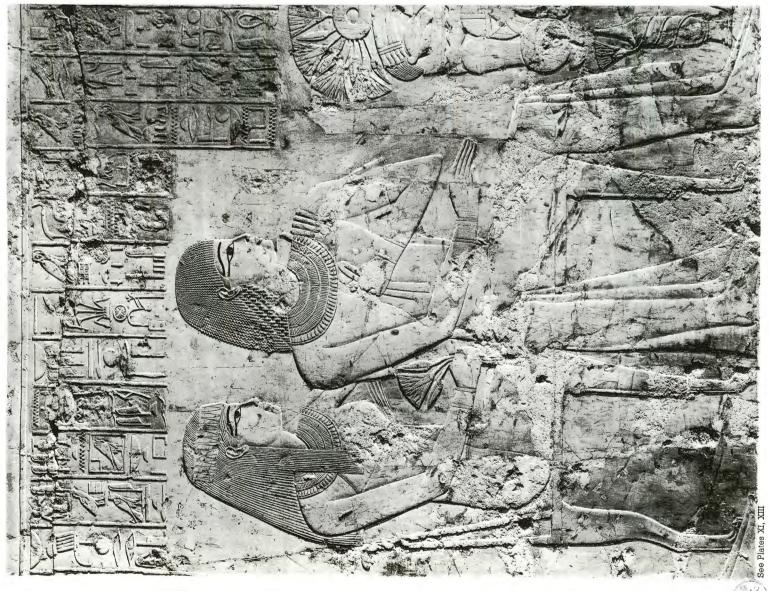


CEILING, ARCHITRAVE AND ABACUS



See Plate VII

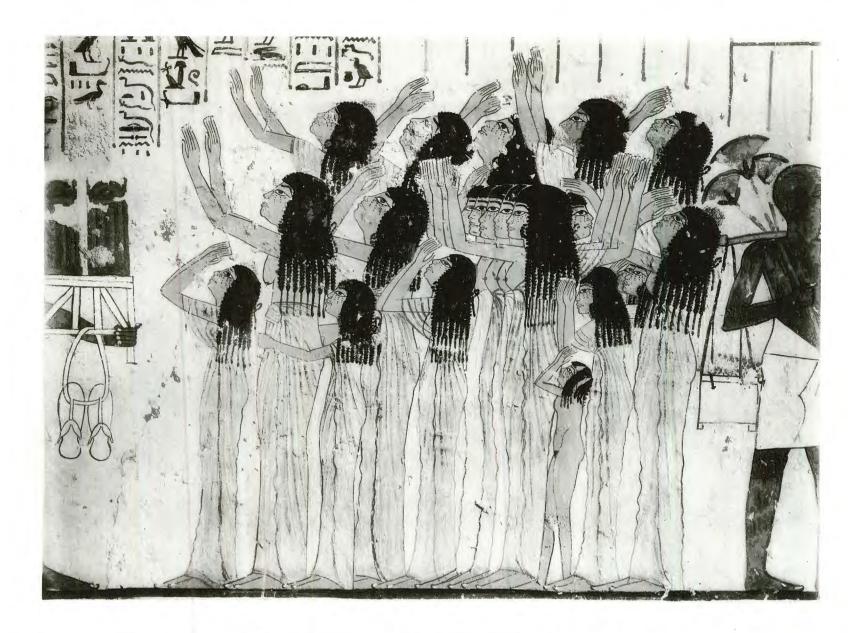


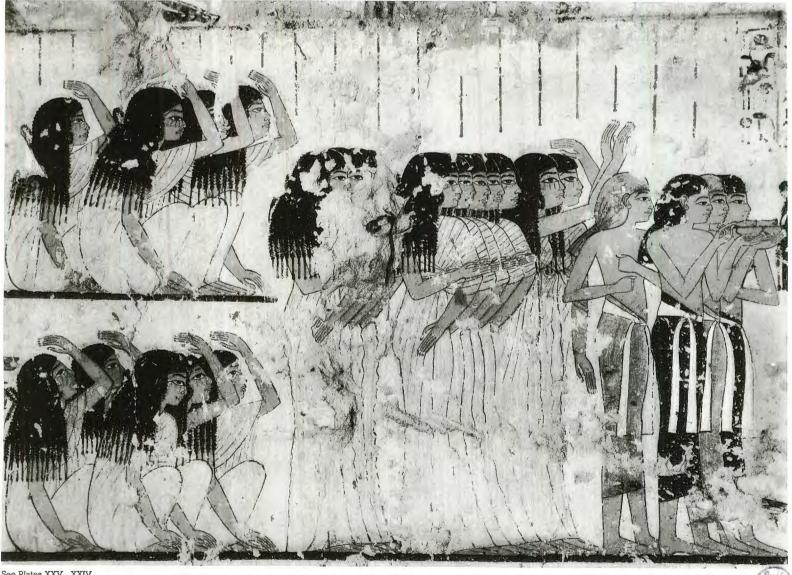




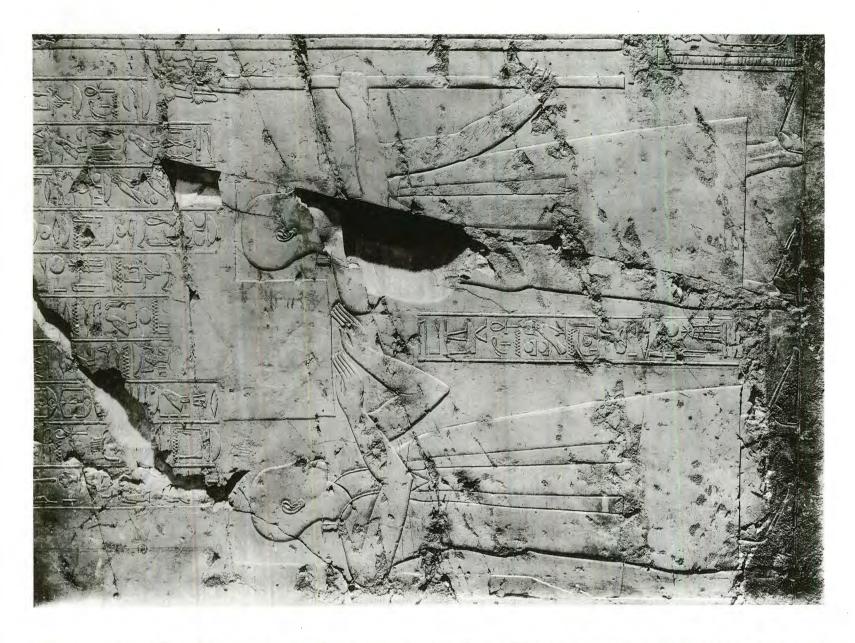


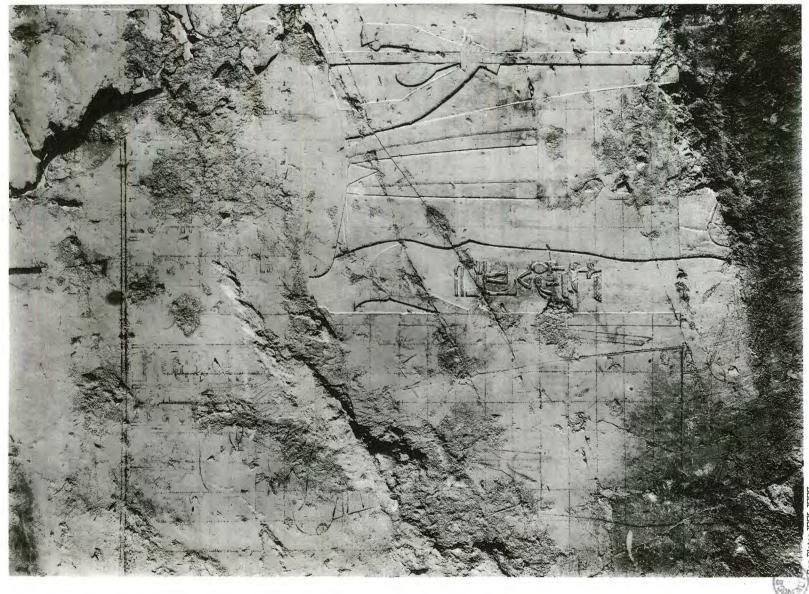
See Plates XVIII, XXI

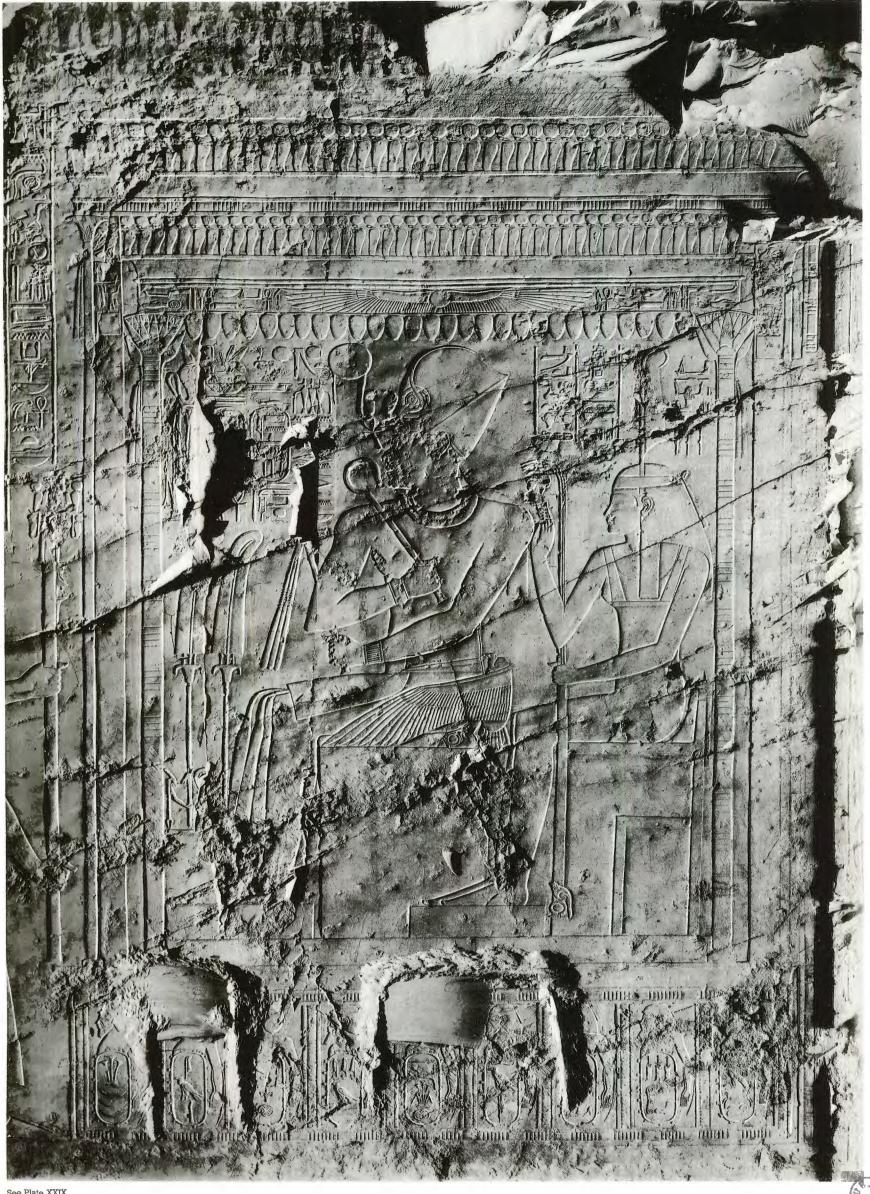




See Plates XXV, XXIV

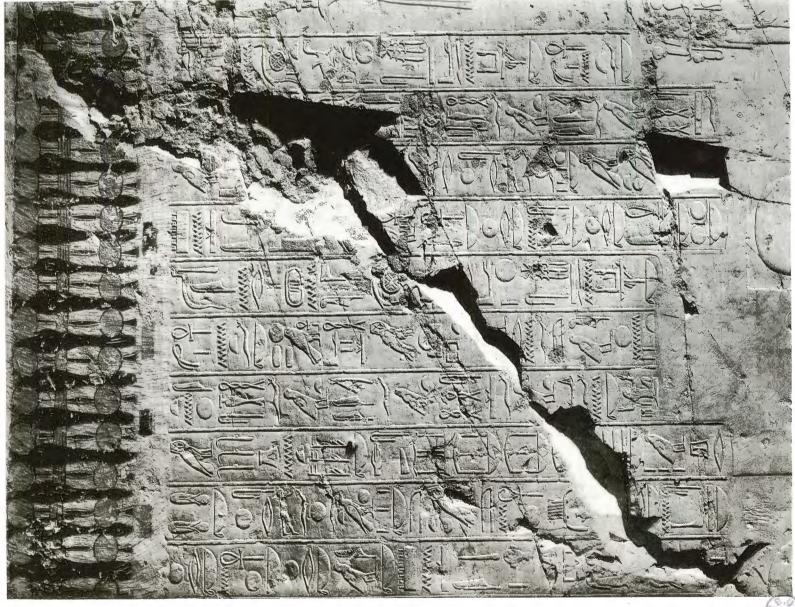




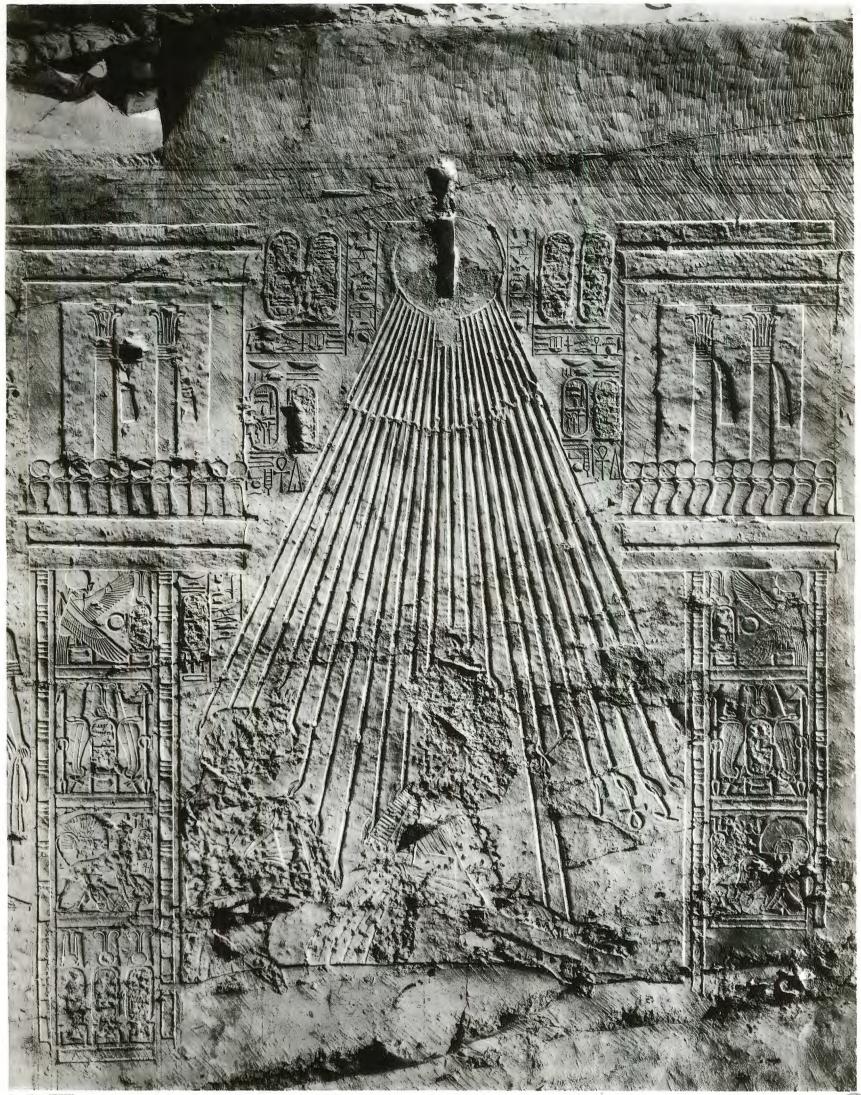


See Plate XXIX

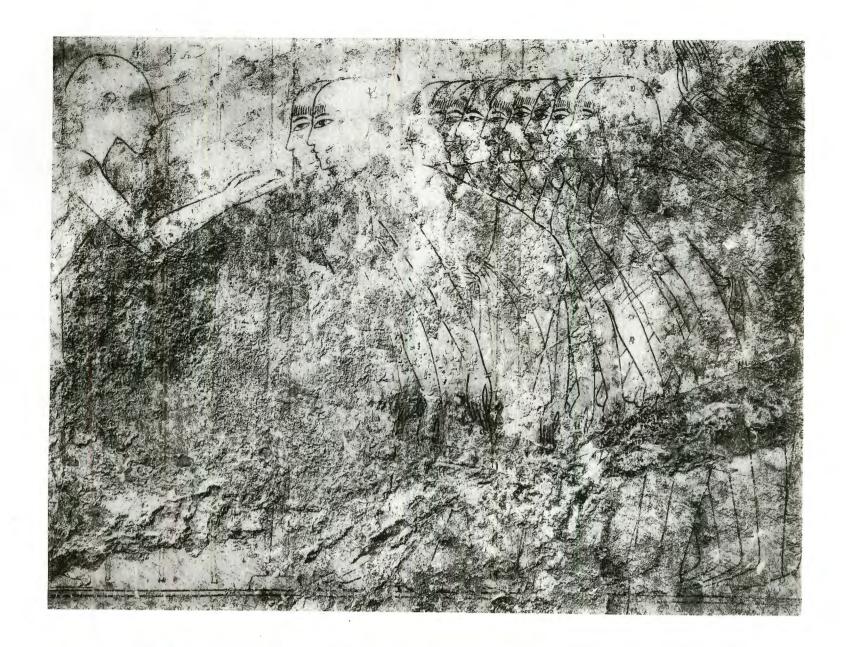




The second of the



See Plate XXXIII











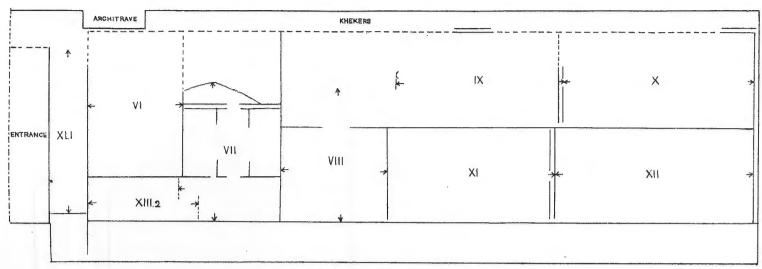




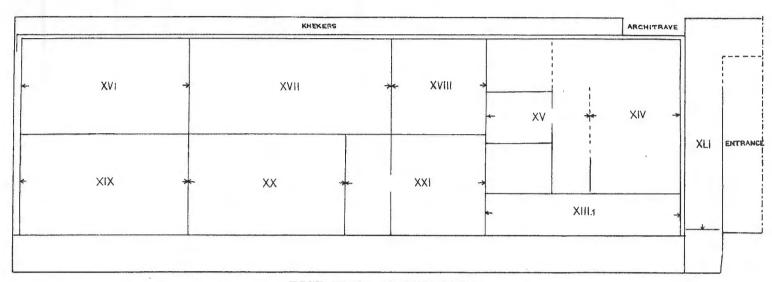
See Plates IV, VIII, XXIX

2

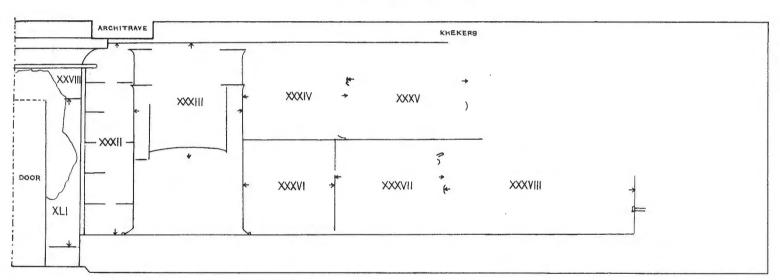
5



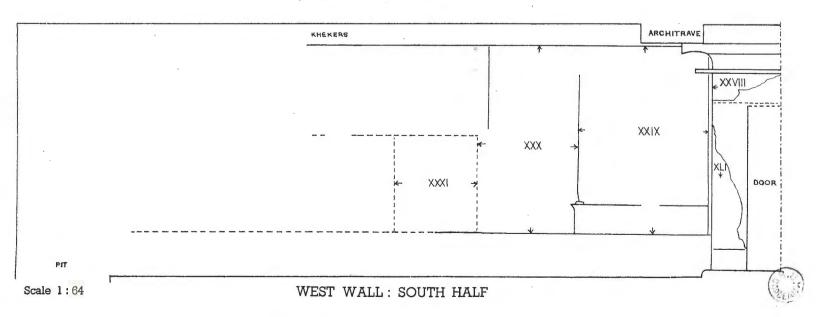
EAST WALL: SOUTH HALF



EAST WALL: NORTH HALF



WEST WALL: NORTH HALF



SCALE 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET 2 3 METRES

